THOMAS TO BE HONORED AT TESTIMONIAL DINNER

NEW YORK - (LSP) - On Nov. 20 Norman Thomas will be 52 years old. To observe the occasion 350 prominent and representative Americans from all over the country are sponsoring a testimonial dinner to him to be given at the Hotel Edison in New York City.

"We feel that this is the time to break through the modesty which has characterized the public service Norman Thomas has rendered for so many years," said members of the provisional committee for the testimonial dinner. "On Nov. 20 we wish to bring together all of those who want to show their personal regard for him and their appreciation of the unstinted contribution he has been making for 20 years to the cause of social justice."

Thomas was the Socialist candidate for president three successive times. He has assisted in the formation of over 50 unions. During the past year he broke martial law in Terre Haute by defying it. He publicized the plight of the southern sharecroppers and helped them organize in the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. He exposed the revived K.K.K. in Florida. He was arrested several times for picketing during strikes. In addition he found time to write six books, a weekly syndicated column and magazine articles and has made extensive lecture tours throughout the country.

He has been described as "a brilliant orator, a keen observer, a scholar and a man of action."

Among the members of the committee arranging the dinner are Devere Allen, editor of the "No-Frontier News Service;" Harriet Stanton Blatch, noted woman suffrage leader; Professor Morris R. Cohen of the College of the City of New York; Dorothy Detzer, executive secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Freda Kirchway, editor of the "Nation;" Isadore Lederman of the Pocketbook Makers Union; Professor Robert Morss Lovett of the University of Chicago; James Myers, executive secretary of the Federal Council of Churches; Bishop Robert L. Paddock; Kirby Page, author; Oswald Garrison Villard, contributing editor of the "Nation," and Julius Hochman of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Reinhold Niebuhr is treasurer of the Norman Thomas Educational Fund which is being raised in connection with this dinner.

Delegations are expected from all over the middle Atlantic seaboard. Those not able to attend are sending greetings and contributions by mail and wire.

The address of the arrangements committee is room 1212, 270 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

# # # #

SENIOR SPIKES OLD GUARD LIES

CHICAGO -(LSP)- Clarence Senior, national executive secretary of the Socialist party, sent the following registered letter to James Oneal, editor of the "New Leader."

"I demand a public retraction from the 'New Leader,' prominently displayed about my alleged resignation from the Socialist party," Senior said.

"I do not intend to resign from the Socialist party.

"My resignation as national executive secretary of the Socialist party is only because of ill health. I shall continue to be a member of the Socialist party and be as active as my health will permit.

"As a matter of fact, James Oneal, the editor of the 'New Leader,' as a member of the national executive committee of the Socialist party until last May, knows that I announced my intention of resigning as national secretary at the meeting of the N.E.C. in January, 1936. I promised at that time to remain until after the campaign. The campaign is now over and I intend to take steps to regain my health."

# # # #

-101 | SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

CC-287

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E.A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffee
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

KRMalo'd

Date: October 6, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MUMFORD

RE: SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

Attached hereto is photostatic material concerning the captioned matter obtained by the Washington Field Office from the files of Walter Steele of the National Republic Magazine. This material was made available gratuitously by Mr. Steele and was forwarded to the Bureau by letter from the Washington Field Office dated August 27, 1942.

Respectfully,

K. R. McIntire

r. Tolson
. E. A. Tamm
. Clegg
. Glavin
. Ladd
. Nichols
r. Rosen
. Tracy
. Carson
. Coffey
. Hendon
. Kramer
. McGuire
. Quinn Tamm
. Nease
ss Gandy

Enclosures

MEMORANDUM ON
NORMAN THOMAS

MAY 2ND, 1927.

Norman Thomas was born in Marion, Ohio, in 1884. He was educated at Princeton University and the Union Theological Seminary following which he was pastor of several Presbyterian churches. He was formerly editor of "The World Tomorrow" and was associate editor of "The Nation". He is an editor of "The New Leader" (official organ of the Socialist Party of America); executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, formerly the Intercollegiate Socialist Society; member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union; director of the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund); chairman of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief (organized to raise funds for the Communist strikers of Passaic); contri utor to "The New Student" (radical inter-collegiate weekly). He was socialist labor party candidate for Governor of New York in 1924; member of the executive committee of the Pioneer Youth of America; a contributor to the "New Masses" (a lascivious radical publication which was barred from the mails); one of the original labor defense Council which was organized by the Communists for the defense of the Communists arrested for their participation in the Bridgman, Michigan raid. He is chairman of the recently organized Debs' Memorial Radio Fund Committee; member of the Central Committee of the International Committee for Political Prisoners; member of the General Committee of the International Committee for Political Prisoners; member of the executive committee of the recently organized Citizens Committee of One Hundred to Aid the Pullman Porters; member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Committee of the Russian Reconstruction Farms; Committee on Academic Freedom; general committee member of the Peoples Legislative Council; lecturer at the Rand School of Social Science; member of the Conference for Progressive Political Action and Committee of the Peoples' Freedom Union.

Mr. Thomas is given a considerable amount of space in the Lusk Report for his pacifist and defeatist activities and his connection with unamerican movements.

R. M. Whitney, in his book, "Reds in America" stated that when James P. Cannon, who is now executive secretary of the International Labor Defense Council (Communist legal bureau) was selling stock for what was known as the Labor Film Service Company, an organization which contained the following paragraph:

> "Our enterprise bears the endorsement of such prominent leaders as Norman Thomas, Rabbi Judah L. Magnus, Scott Nearing, Louis Waldman, I. M. Sackin, etc. We also have the endorsement of the Central Federated Union, United Hebrew Trades, Italian Chamber of Commerce, and other labor organizations."

R. M. Whitney, in his pamphlet, "LaFollette, Socialism, Communism" quotes the following excerpts from the book, "The Challenge of War" by Norman Thomas: "The tap root of war is economic.
"Nationalism is in this day and generation the most powerful social emotion. It requires for its full fervor rivals to surpass or enemies to fear and hate. Patriotism is essentially war-like, invoked a hundred times to rally the nation against other nations, for every time it is mentioned as a reason for improving the lot of the downtrodden within the national borders.....

"The particular form of modern trade which tends directly to promote war is the trade of armaments by private interests. In time of peace armament makers know neither patriotism nor principle.

"Capitalism is still dominant. Yet capitalism, especially of the individualistic sort, has already passed the zenith of its power.

"Whatever may be said of the success or failure of the Russian economic experiment, politically the Soviet government has worked miracles. When one remembers the chaotic condition of the Russia of 1917-18, the magnitude of the achievement becomes apparent. Russia already is a force to be reckoned with in world politics, and that not alone because of the appeal its communist government makes to workers in other lands, but because Russia as a nation has become strong, aggressive and powerful.

"Nicaragua is a fief of Brown Brothers and J. & W. Seligman. They control the government's railroads, its customs and its finances. Guatemala is a special preserve of Blair & Co. Our obliging State Department has marines on call to protect 'law and order' - that is, investments - in both republics.' (There follows mention of Costa Rica, the Republic of Panama, Peru, Bolivia, Mesopotamia, Mexico, Philippines, Haiti and Santo Domingo.)

"The slogan 'No More War' is good, yet from one viewpoint it is misleading. We do not now have peace. Life is organized on a war basis. Diplomacy is a war game. War itself is only the acute manifestation of a chronic disease. We have been concerned with the clash between nations. That is not the only source from which war comes. It may ultimately prove to be not the chief source of danger. There is the growing anger of the brown and black races against their white masters and exploiters. There is the clash between those who own the resources and implements which all men need, and those who have only their labor of hand or brain to sell. Many of those who claim property rights are absentee owners who contribute nothing to the industry on which they live, but who exercise power over it....Can the world have peace under its present economic-political system?

"War cannot be outlawed as an isolated phenomenon, but only as part of a cooperative reorganization of society.

"The psychology of the profit system and the acquisitive society is not the psychology of peace."

"The Churchman" (radical weekly religious publication) of October 30th, 1926, in giving a resume of the conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, held at Watch Hill, R.I., stated:

"Norman Thomas emphasized the increase of violations at the heart of the industrial situation and laid on the group the necessity of active work to establish the validity of other methods.

"Then the conference broke up into four groups to work out in discussion how the Fellowship technique in those fields could be developed. Norman Thomas led one on the field of publicity through newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, radio and movies."

At a ten-day conference of pastors and church workers held at the Union Theological Seminary in New York City, Norman Thomas, as the guide, conducted a tour of these delegates which included the Rand School of Social Science, Workers(Communist) Party of America headquarters in New York City at 103 E. 14th Street, I.W.W. headquarters at 140 Broad Street and finished the tour at the Anarchist Hall at 219 Second Avenue.

In an article in "American Appeal" of February 5, 1926 under the caption of "Socialism", Norman Thomas states:

"I am opposed to the secular Jesuitism of Communism. I am opposed to its catastrophic theory of salvation, that is, the notion that we are inevitably headed to some sort of great disaster probably new world war, after which will come world revolution. So terrible are the consequences of modern warfare on so great a scale that a new Dark Ages would be a more likely consequence of such war than an orderly Communist dictatorship rising eventually to an emancipated world. Perhaps we cannot avoid the great catastrophe to which the working out of capitalism in these international aspects logically leads. I believe in trying. And in trying I am willing to cooperate with liberals or Communists."

The "New York Times" of February 23, 1927, in giving a report on the Washington Birthday Conference of the Church League for Industrial Democracy states as follows:

"Mr. Thomas said the United States could not long endure 'Half industrial autocracy and half political democracy! He praised the work of the labor unions and said that another Gettysburg address could be written on the unknown heroes of labor who 'suffered calumny and exile so that their ideas of economic liberty might not perish from the earth'."

Mr. Thomas was also very active in the recent paper boxmakers' strike in New York which received much publicity because of the rioting and disorder in connection with it, and he, with a number of other radicals, made frequent protests to the police department on behalf of the strikers. This strike was largely Communistic.

At a meeting of the Chicago Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy held at the Y.W.C.A. headquarters, Chicago, Illinois, Mr. Thomas made the principal address. He stated in part as follows:

"No one believes that the old political parties will ever bring about the desired changes, and I am often asked what could be done. I believe that at present the great need is for workers to educate the people and awaken them from their state of apathy. There is an outcry now against the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union of which I am a member, because they have defended the rights of citizens which have been guaranteed them by the Constitution. Imperialism is rampant. No nation in histroy has ever been guilty of a more imperialistic policy than the United States is now pursuing in Nicaragua, in Mexico, and our other colonies, at the behest of the capitalists who have made investments in those countries.

"What is needed is a real labor party comprising all workers, the workers in the factories, on the farms, that will change our governmental system. We do not need a dictatorship such as that of Lenin, or of Mussolini. I do not believe in salvation by catastrophe and perhaps the dictatorship of Mussolini has been preferable to that of Lenin. What we need is more push, more workers to stimulate action along lines that we can follow to improve our present situation while educating our fellowmen,

of several strikers against the civil authorities for false arrest and atrocious assault. Among the members of the committee are Louis Budenz, editor of 'Labor Age', Rose Baron, secretary of the International Labor Defense, Robert Dunn of the A.C.L.U. Clarina Nicholson, secretary of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, Justine Wise, Norman Thomas. Arthur Garfield Hays, Morris L. Ernst and Susan Brandeis. Forrest Bailey, a director of the A.C.L.U., is chairman.".

An article appearing in "Industrial Solidarity" of December 29, 1926, reports on a big strike meeting held on December 19, 1926, in Belmont Park Casino, Garfield, N.J. as follows:

"Dr. Norman Thomas, who was one of those arrested during the first weeks of the struggle, was present to congratulate the strikers upon their victories and praised the splendid spirit of solidarity which has made those victories possible Louis Budenz, editor of Labor Age, was also present."

"The New Leader" of January 22, 1927, states that Norman Thomas, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Hubert Herring and either Senator Wheeler or Senator Dill were booked as speakers at the Lyric Theater, New York City, at a mass meeting held January 30, 1927, to protest against the occupation of Nicaragua by the Marines and to demand peace with Mexico.

Also Robert Dunn and Gurley Flynn.
Gurley Flynn shall act as permanent secretary.

2. Joint Committee to act as clearing house and agency to coordinate the work of the cooperating organization and to signify united action.

3. ILD to have full charge of all strike cases. Civil Liberties Union to handle all free speech and civil rights cases.

4. Each organization determines policy of cases it handles.

5. Each organization raises funds, conducts publicity, routes speakers under their own auspices by authority of the joint committee.

6. We hire all lawyers and pay all expenses on our cases with the cooperating organizations helping financially.

7. We issue at once a well illustrated pamphlet by Mary Heaton Vorse and begin a nation-wide appeal for funds."

A pamphlet, "What is the American Civil Liberties Union" issued by the American Defense Society, states as follows:

"Norman Thomas, member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union said that he had taken part in hundreds of strikes and that none of them were like the one now going on in Passaic, that this strike not only had the makings of a good strong union but that later on they would not bother with strikes but that they would run their own cities, and, later one, run the State of New Jersey and then the Nation. Statement on March 4th, 1926".

A Federated Press Labor Letter under date of June 30, 1926, contained the following statement:

"We can assure all those who give to the relief of the Passaic strikers, whether out of understanding of the importance of their cause or out of pity for the hunger of thousands of little children, that any money that they may give will be administered economically, efficiently and honestly and applied only to the legitimate purposes of the conduct of a strike in which relief is almost the sole item of expense. ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN. NORMAN THOMAS."

In the October, 1926 issue of "The World Tomorrow" appears an article by Mr. Thomas entitled "So this is Nationalism". In this article he reviews Carlton J. H. Hayes' "Essays on Nationalism" and states that nationalism "is patriotic snobbery."

In American Civil Liberties Union bulletin #225 of November 18, 1926 states as follows:

"A joint committee for the defense of Passaic strike leaders and strikers has been formed by the American Civil Liberties Union and the International Labor Defense. This committee will assume the direction and the financial support of cases now pending in the New Jersey courts. Included are the cases of Albert Weisbord, under indictment for seditious utterances, and

Rev. Thomas was very active in the Communist-instigated and conducted Passaic textile strike. The Chicago "Tribune" of April 16, 1926, states regarding his arrest for deliberately violating the riot act at Garfield, N. J., as follows:

> "Norman Thomas, New York Socialist leader and former Presbyterian minister, who was arrested in Garfield when he sought to test the riot act, was released on $10,000 bail today by Justice of the Peace Louis Hargreaves after an effort was made to send him back to the Bergen county jail for another night on a technicality. Bail of $10,000 was furnished by a surety company prior to Mr. Thomas' arraignment. When he was held to await the action of the grand jury, Thomas started to leave the office under the impression that he was free on bail. A deputy sheriff, instead, told Thomas to accompany him to the county jail, explaining that the first $10,000 bail did not cover the arraignment."

In the June, 1926 issue of the "New Masses" appeared an article by Mr. Thomas captioned "Lessons of Passaic". In this article he stated: "The Passaic strike will serve a doubly useful purpose for it impresses upon the workers one of the most flagrant evils of the capitalist system. I refer to the concealment of profits by strike dividends and the capitalization not of the savings of investors but of the legal right to exploit both consumers and wage workers. The whole woolen industry has been the greedy beneficiary of the subsidy that all of us have helped to pay by reason of tariff rates. The industry pays tragically low wages and expects the brunt of industrial depression to be borne by these underpaid workers. Yet in these years of prosperity the Botany mills alone increased their stock from 34,000 to 497,000 shares by a clever process of reorganizing the industry and dividing up its past surplus. It is on this swollen capitalization that the bosses seek to pay profits wrung from the workers."

A letter under date of May first, 1926, issued by the International Labor Defense Council over the signature of James P. Cannon, executive secretary, read in part as follows:

> "As we have already informed you, a nation-wide campaign for the defense of the Passaic strike leaders now out on bail was being organized on a united front platform. Comrade Cannon has been in New York for a week toward the end of achieving this result. He informs the national office today that the joint committee has been formed, and th at all the proposals were unanimously accepted. The following will be the basis of cooperation:
>
> 1. The joint committee shall consist of:
> International Labor Defense - J. P. Cannon.
> League for Industrial Democracy - Norman Thomas
> Federated Press - Art Shields.
> Civil Liberties Union - Forrest Bailey.
> United Front Committee - Albert Weisbord.
> Passaic Strike Relief Committee - Alfred Wagenknecht
> Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief - Clarina Michelson.

with a real labor party as our objective. We can work to stop war, for old age and ill health, pensions for workers, and to wipe out slums in which workers are congregated in our big cities. New York, which is my home, is probably the richest city in the world and yet, while European cities have spent millions of dollars to wipe out their slums and replace them with sanitary buildings at reasonable rents for workers, New York, which has, I believe, the worst slums in the world, does nothing but talk about it and takes no action. People should be taught to think of earnest constructive things and to get away from the jazz and set age now existing as a reaction from the world war."

In concluding an article captioned "How the American Nation is Being Militarized" which appeared in the January 29th, 1927 issue of "American Appeal", Mr. Thomas states:

"Let us rapidly review the situation in America today. Economic imperialism is rampant. At any moment some untoward event in Mexico may set in train events that lead to war. The espionage laws are still on the statute books ready for use in time of national emergency. Under the hypocritical guise of urging that wealth be not allowed to escape in the next war a bill is now pending before Congress which seeks to 'control' wealth, but absolute 'conscripts' all workers in the event of war. Meanwhile pending the arrival of the great emergency our choicest young men are being taught to accept, if not to like, the war system with its cynical view of the possibilities of international cooperation and peace. Labor's progress is menaced as well as the hope of peace. A Munitions Battalion has been formed not to train soldiers in the field but to manage industry. As Assistant Secretary of War MacNider told that great open shop organization, the National Association of Manufacturers the graduate of this Munitions Battalion 'will always think of industry in relation to the army's problem.' Labor men who want to think of industry in terms of human problems see in such a boast a menace to all our hopes. Such is militarism in its American form. Who will fight it? How long will the farmers and workers be fooled into acquiescence or partial approval? Today American militarism menaces the poor folk of Nicaragua and Mexico. Tomorrow it will menace our own sons and brothers. Military training, as a labor leader approvingly told me, may teach the boys 'to walk straight', but at the last the spirit of militarism and imperialism, twin demons now abroad in our land, can only teach our boys to walk straight along the road that leads to a literal hell."

"A letter from Mr. Thomas was reprinted in the March 22, 1927 issue of "Illini" of Urbana, Illinois, in which he condemned the patriotic societies and their activities and concluded with the following statement:

"Because I prize the spirit of thought and inquiry in our universities I want to direct it to those prejudiced which stand in the way of the finest religion and patriotism and that loyalty to mankind which is the hope of peace."

In the "New Leader" of April 23, 1927, appeared an article by Norman Thomas captioned "Sacco and Vanzetti Must be Saved!" in which he states as follows:

"Governor Fuller of Massachusetts should be deluged with letters and telegrams urging him to appoint the impartial commission to hear the evidence in the Sacco and Vanzetti case which has been asked for by

their Defense Committee. On this request coming from those most responsible for the conduct of the defence we must unite. It is a tragic reproach to American Justice in general and Massachusetts justice in particular that such an extralegal method must be taken. I still do not believe that the Supreme Court was rigidly required by the law of Massachusetts to make the decision which it made....."

It is noticeable that at the beginning of this article he uses virtually the same words as the Communists used in pamphlets circulated throughout the country namely. "Governor Fuller of Massachusetts should be deluged with letters and telegrams." Following the war, Norman Thomas wrote a book entitled "The Conscientious Objector in America". The preface to this book was written by Robert M. LaFollette. Thomas, throughout this whole book, lauds and glorifies the slackers and pacifists who denounced the war and served prison sentences rather than take part in the war.

While Mr. Thomas claims that he does not support Communist doctrines, yet he is constantly associated with members of the Communist Party and can generally be identified with things Communistic and more than makes good on his statement that he is willing to "work with" the Communists.

From N. Y. Evening Post, 10/27/21--N. R. file.

PROMINENT SUPPORTERS OF NORMAN THOMAS FOR BOROUGH PRESIDENT

Bishop Francis J. McConnell

Robert Bagnall (negro)

Professor Leroy Bowman

John Lovejoy Elliott

Rev. W. Russell Bowie

Morris Ernst.

Dorothy Kenyon

W. Ernest Johnson

Rev. Edmund B. Chaffee

Dr. John Dewey

John Haynes Holmes

Paul U. Kellogg

Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein

Col. Stephen Bonsal
Miss Susan S. Burr
Dr. Louis Cohen
Miss Jean Dean Cole
Mrs. Catherine Filene Dodd
J. Milnor Dorey
Gilson Gardner
I. Geraci
Abraham Ginberg
Samuel Greenspan
Dr. John H. Gray
Isadore Horshfield
Mercer G. Johnston
Frederick H. Kerby
Miss Hildegard Kneeland
Rev. Moses R. Lovell

NORMAN THOMAS DINNER COMMITTEE
Washington, D. C.

Benjamin C. Marsh
N.F. Matteson
Joseph B. Matthews
John T. McRoy
Lewis Meriam
Benjamin Meiman
Dr. Wm. George Meiman
Miss Mary Janet Miller
Mrs. Louis F. Post
Charles Edward Russell
Dr. John R. Swanton
Laurence Todd
Miss Alice Wood
Frederick Haller, TREASURER
Mrs. Alice Spiers Sechrist, SECRETARY

Washington, D.C.
December 18, 1929.

You and your friends are cordially invited

to attend a dinner at

The Commos Club

on

Sunday, December 29 at seven o'clock

in honor of

NORMAN THOMAS

who will speak on the subject of

HAS LIBERALISM COLLAPSED?

Dr. John H. Gray will preside.

One of the objects of the dinner is to bring together Washingtonians and the delegates of the American Economic Association, which will be in session here at that time.

Please make reservations ($2.00 each) in advance by mailing the enclosed slip to Mrs. Alice Spiers Sechrist, 1206 10th Street, N. W.

(Telephone: house, Metropolitan 0217; office, North 5281)

Guests will be seated in order of application.

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Publishers of Books on All Phases of Human Knowledge

March, 1932.

Why is Norman Thomas called 'one of America's most useful men'?

Because, as the New York Herald Tribune says, "We need in this sluggish body politic of ours the kind of critical intelligence Mr. Thomas so conspicuously possesses."

How does Mr. Thomas make people think?

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You may find out in his vigorous, readable new book: AS I SEE IT.

In this book, Mr. Thomas presents his specific program for immediate action in our present dilemma.

Whether you agree with Mr. Thomas' socialism or not, as an intelligent and well-informed citizen you will want to know what his ideas really are, what his program proposes.

This book goes further in its discussion than simply the socialistic platform. If you want a comprehensive picture of our present situation, if you want first-hand acquaintance with some of the most stimulating ideas of today, this is the book for you to read.

Mr. Thomas may prick your conscience. He may give you new ideas. You may find that you unexpectedly agree with him on some points. You may find that you decidedly disagree. In any case you will find in his book lively, pertinent, and well-digested statements on affairs of immediate interest to everyone.

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A New Program for Democracy

(Continued from Page 1)

landlordism." The agricultural plight would be met by such means as the government purchase of farm lands to be turned into forests, reduction of transportation and distribution costs, downward revision of the tariff, and the establishment of cooperative or State farms. The Socialist State will have, in addition to land taxes, sharply graduated income and inheritance taxes, the latter perhaps supplemented by a capital levy. Neither money nor the price system will be abolished, but money, banks and credit will be socially controlled and monetary units will be stabilized.

As far as the individual is concerned, the immediate object of Mr. Thomas's socialism will be to "strike from him the chains of poverty and economic insecurity." We shall have unemployment insurance and other preventive devices, and probably a "program of family allowances." Social planning will remedy the evils of overproduction or underproduction, the labor day will be shortened and jobs will not be jeopardized or lost because of political opinions.

Precisely how these changes in the social order are to be brought about is a question regarding which Mr. Thomas seems far from clear. He concedes, of course, that the State will have to exist in some form, and "unless we are prepared to go over to dictatorship we cannot incontinently chuck representative Parliamentary government out of the window." It is necessary, he thinks, that representative bodies should confine themselves to general laws and policies, and he favors the development of administrative bodies, but he sees no substitute for party government and no advantage in more frequent resort to direct voting.

Mention of political parties leads Mr. Thomas, after some reference to war debts, the League of Nations and other international matters and a highly critical discussion of American labor unions, to consider the future of the Socialist party. The outlook does not seem to him discouraging in view of the considerable number of third party movements that have appeared in this country, and he takes pains to refute the charge that socialism is a foreign importation. The future success of the party appears to depend upon the acceptance by labor of Socialist principles "rather than the trade-union capitalism of the A. F. of L.," and he would rather see the A. F. of L. revitalized and a Socialist gospel spread than to try prematurely to bring about an official labor party. He is not even particular about keeping the Socialist label if a better one can be found. What he thinks probable is that sooner or later "something like a mass movement of men and women who want an integrated program will come together in a socialistic party, by whatever name it may be called."

Mr. Thomas's book is an interesting illustration of the change that appears to have come over American socialism. What was hard and assertive in the socialism of Marx has been softened, and a good deal of what was uncompromising has been whittled down. Instead of the general ownership of means of production with a resulting elimination of private profit, Mr. Thomas would apparently be satisfied with the common ownership of selected industries, at least for a considerable time to come, supplemented by forms of public control not strikingly different from those which many States are already exercising with capitalist support. For revolution he substitutes evolution, for forthright change a process of experiment and gradual transition, for immediate harvest of material benefits an indefinite period of education in socialist thought. When, finally, he faces the stubborn obstacle of the Constitution and the practical steps by which the present form of government is to be transformed, he virtually throws up his hands and protests that the day of such things is not yet.

All this is not to say that Mr. Thomas's book is not earnest and sincere, for it is immensely both. No one can read it without feeling convinced that Mr. Thomas greatly desires a better world and is ready to go a long way to attain it. A good deal of what he has to suggest, however, does not seem to differ greatly from what many to whom official socialism is an anathema have long hoped and worked for. It is, in short, an advanced liberalism or progressivism more or less affected with a socialist interest. If this means that socialist ideas are making headway notwithstanding that the Socialist party lags behind, Mr. Thomas and his followers may feel some satisfaction in the thought that American socialism is saving others even if it cannot save itself.

Mrs. 8174 sett- ior's k. s was John, ocial ision, iters, 1, 8; 2, uylor, sorge and s re- but e to ting.

New Scholasticism.

WASHINGTON TIMES 5-26-37

Norman Thomas May Day Speaker

Norman Thomas, veteran Socialist presidential candidate and national chairman of the Socialist party, and Charles Edward Russell, journalist, will speak at a Labor and Socialist May Day meeting in McPherson Square, Fifteenth and I Sts. N. W., Monday, at 8 p. m. The meeting will be sponsored by the Workmen's Circle, Labor Zionists, Socialist party, Social Democratic Federation, Young People's Socialist League and Young Circle League

Youth Injured

101 | SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

THOMAS BLAMES GAMBLING RING FOR FLOGGINGS

Assails Tampa's Organized Vice; Hints Gov. Sholtz Condoned Violence

By FRED L. STROZIER
(Times Staff Writer)

TAMPA, Jan. 19.—The flogging-murder of Joseph Shoemaker seven weeks ago was laid directly at the door of organized gambling in Tampa and the K. K. K., by Norman Thomas, fiery Socialist leader, in a mass-protest meeting here today.

He said for the gamblers "to protect those murders is in order."

Of the "night raiders" he shouted:

"I do not know what motives those Klansmen had. Some of them may think themselves remotely kin to Paul Revere.

"But no organization that seeks to impose its will on others by force is in any sense American."

Indicts Florida Floggers

Thomas poured out an indictment of Florida, "where flogging is a fine art," and said:

"The shame of it is, the tragedy of it is, as I learn now, that as a flogging it wasn't so unusual.

"If Shoemaker hadn't been so brutally beaten, if he hadn't been brought home dying, it would have been just another flogging in the Sunshine state."

Thomas accused Florida of "mountain" floggings—18 occurred in the vicinity of Orlando within the year, he said—before the 2,014 persons who found seats in the municipal auditorium, scores of others standing in the aisles and other hundreds listening outside through a public address system.

Leads Protest Meeting

The former Socialist candidate for president was here under auspices of his party in Florida to lead Tampans in mass protest against the mob that abducted Shoemaker and two companions in the shadow

(Continued on Page 2, Column 1)

bill is slated for early passage in the senate tomorrow while committees in both branches push forward in framing permanent legislation to steer the nation clear of future foreign conflicts.

It remained purely speculative today whether the agricultural question would receive attention in the senate tomorrow after disposition of the veterans bill, or be deferred until later in the week.

Two Farm Bills Pending

The senate has two committee-approved farm bills before it. One, by Republican Leader McNary of Oregon, would authorize an appropriation of $440,000,000 to pay farmers for acreage reduction contracts entered into before the supreme court decision invalidated A. A. A. Another by Chairman Smith, Democrat, of South Carolina, of the agricultural committee, would authorize the customary annual appropriation of $40,000,000 for crop loans.

A third farm measure which some have hinted might be labeled the administration bill may be introduced Tuesday by Senator Bankhead, Democrat, of Alabama. This would amend the 1935 soil conservation law and appropriate $250,000,000 to resume, in some respects, a control principle not unlike the old A. A. A.

Bankhead said the measure was his interpretation of an agreement reached at the White House conference which he attended. It is possible one of the farm aid appropriations will be incorporated in the independent offices bill already passed by the house.

Final Vote Delayed

The senate starts its third day of logrolling consideration tomorrow due to a sudden change in plans of leaders who had expected to take a final vote late yesterday.

Rather than prolong the session past the dinner hour, and knowing the bill would pass overwhelmingly anyway, Democratic leaders agreed to postpone the final roll call until

THOMAS BL
GAMBLING
FOR FLOGG

ST. PETERS
TIMES, JANUARY 20, 1936

NORMAN THOMAS

Norman Thomas, of the American Civil Liberties Union and the League for Industrial Democracy and contributing editor of the bolshevik "Nation", on the evening of August 3, 1927 addressed a Sacco-Vanzetti meeting in Philadelphia. As the Communists are doing, he denounced Judge Webster Thayer, whose conduct in the case has been found to be unimpeachable, not only by Governor Fuller, but by the Governor's Advisory Committee. Thomas prated about "patriotism" in true hypocritical fashion, as is becoming rather customary with the American Civil Liberties Union crowd. He asked, "Shall America be known as the country of class justice?" The hypocrisy of this is apparent to everyone who knows that Norman Thomas is doing all he can against patriotic motives and in the interests of class prejudice. He added, "We are striving, as lovers of justice, as patriots, that justice shall be done in this case."

It would be difficult to find people who are striving more thoroughly against justice or to find a more thoroughly mendacious and hypocritical expression than such as one from Norman Thomas.

Though Sacco has confessed himself an anarchist, and though both men are openly Communists, the meeting was held under the auspices of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia, AFL, and the United Hebrew Trades. It was characteristically a Communist meeting. Abram I. Shiplacoff, of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union of New York, who had been convicted under the Espionage Act, was a member of the National Executive Committee of the American Socialist Party, was a New York Socialist Alderman and a revolutionary and a speaker at the Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace, according to the Lusk Report, and has since been leaving a red trail behind him, was a fitting collaborator with Norman Thomas. He endeavored to excite prejudice against Judge Thayer. Another speaker was Alfred Morriconi, organizer for the Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Workers, which is not an AFL Union. Another was Girolamo Valenti, an editor of "Il Nuovo Mondo", New York, who spoke in characteristic Communist fashion and put in some hypocritical stuff about "those who love the great Republic must strive for justice in behalf of two victims of capitalistic persecution", and added, "Let us vow our devotion to democracy, justice and liberty," perverting the meanings of these three words as do thee members of the American Civil Liberties Union.

It was a fitting meeting to have Norman Thomas as a speaker.

Thomas as a speaker is thoroughly poisonous, thoroughly hypocritical and thoroughly unscrupulous. Perhaps no member of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd is a more effective worker for Communism.

Governor Fuller is to be congratulated on his manly course and his simple, plain statement of the truth.

Governor Fuller's decision would make men like Norman Thomas and Felix Frankfurter ashamed if they had any sense of shame, but it is quite evident that they have not.

It should never be lost sight of that the American Civil Liberties Union crowd thrive financially through their criminal agitation and that this is a large object with many of them.

FRANCIS RALSTON WELSH

August 4, 1927.

Information Bureau
National Republic

NORMAN THOMAS AFFILIATIONS

X National Committee, American Civil Liberties Union.

American Committee Opposed to Alien Registration.

X Board of Directors, American Fund for Public Service.

National Advisory Committee, American League to Abolish Capital Punishment.

X Committee on Militarism in Education.

Executive Committee, League for Independent Political Action.

International Committee for Political Prisoners.

National Executive Committee, Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy.

Executive Board of National Council for Prevention of War.

X Board of Directors, Pioneer Youth of America.

Author, "Socialism of Our Times."

Candidate for President of the United States on Socialist ticket.

Advisory Council, Foreign Language Information Service.

National World Court Committee.

X Contributing Editor, "The World Tomorrow."

Lecturer, Rand School of Social Science.

Advisory Board, National Religion and Labor Foundation.

Advisory Board, Russian Reconstruction Farms (1926).

Vice Chairman, Emergency Peace Committee.

Contributor, "America for All."

Contributor, "Socialist Planning and a Socialist Program."

NORMAN M. THOMAS

From "American Labor Who's Who". P.228

"Editor, The World Tomorrow; associate editor, The Nation; editor, The Leader. Socialist and American Labor Party candidate for governor of New York, 1924. Author: The Conscientious Objector in America, 1923; The Challenge of War, 1923, a pamphlet; numerous leaflets on various questions. Member Press Writers' Union."

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Norman Thomas spoke at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, February 20, 1931, after which socialists joined with college students and others in a parade through the streets of Richmond. Thomas rode in the procession, the leading car of which carried the red flag, while other cars were draped with red bunting. Members of the American Legion and other patriotic citizens of Richmond stopped the procession, tore the red flag and bunting from the cars, and broke up the demonstration. The American Legion denounced college officials for the parade under the red flag and called a series of patriotic meetings to offset the damage done by Thomas.

Late in September, 1930, Norman Thomas was barred from Brooklyn College by school authorities, "I object to a college government which decrees that neither Mr. Broun or myself shall speak before a student body," he said. "It narrows down to a censorship of public speakers who are invited to speak before these bodies."

Norman Thomas, active in the defense of communists and other radicals, is a member of many radical organizations including the following:

National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, whose secretary testified his belief in the right of an individual or organization to advocate overthrow of the United States government by force and violence and likewise to advocate murder. This organization is active in support of communists arrested for radical activity in the United States.

American Committee Opposed to Alien Registration.

Board of Directors of the American Fund for Public Service, the financial source for red and other organizations and activities.

Advisory Council of the American Association for Old Age Security.

National Advisory Committee, American League to Abolish Capital Punishment.

National Committee, "American Progressive Committee for the Support of "Il Nuevo Mondo".

File

cross file

Committee on Militarism in Education.

National Committee, Conference for Progressive Political Action.

India Independence League of America, with Roger Baldwin, John Dewey, etc.

Faculty and lecturer of Institute of International Relations of the American Friends Service Committee.

General Committee of International Committee for Political Prisoners headed by Roger Baldwin.

Executive Committee, League for Independent Political Action, headed by John Dewey.

Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy, headed by Robert Morss Lovett.

Executive Board, Libby National Council for the Prevention of War.

Speakers Bureau of the Open Forum Bureau, accredited agency of the Open Forum National Council, together with Roger Baldwin, Lewis Gannett, Scott Nearing, Kirby Page, William Pickens, Anna Louise Strong, etc.

Board of Directors, Pioneer Youth of America.

Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Thomas has also the following affiliations:

Speaker before the Civic League which lists Robert Dunn, Roger Baldwin, Ellen Wilkinson, Clarence Darrow, Robert Morss Lovett, etc.

Instructor in special courses at Rand School and member of sustaining Committee.

Contributing editor of The World Tomorrow, The Nation, New Republic, and New Leader.

One of the four original incorporators of the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund), the others being Lewis Gannett, Robert Morss Lovett, and Roger Baldwin.

Quotations from writings of Norman Thomas in the New Leader

February 14, 1931--"This is the situation inherent in capitalism and in production for private profit. The main defense against falling wages is not the so-called enlightened capitalism, but the organized strength, industrial and political, of the workers....."

"The unions which will share in this demonstration will have the wholehearted cooperation of the Socialist Party and of certain individuals who strongly feel the need of an immediate demand on the government in Washington, and in Albany, and at the City Hall. .....Success to it!" (Referring to the communist unemployment demonstrations in those cities.)

January 3, 1931--"If we have to build ships to help unemployment, let's sink them as soon as they are done to help peace."

November 22, 1930--".....Russia is carrying on an experiment of immense value which contains much hope along two lines in which socialists are deeply interested. (1) They are showing that men will work hard for other than the profit motive. (2) They are also showing that a planned national economy is possible."

January 31, 1931--"To the rapidly growing list of good books on Russia, by all means add Sherwood Eddy's 'The Challenge of Russia'.

January 24, 1931--"The Fish report on communism is as dangerous to American liberty as it is foolish. The committee wants to preserve American liberty by setting up a federal spy system over communists..... The committee wants to preserve American democracy by excluding the Communist Party from the ballot....The committee wants to hurt our very excellent trade with Russia by refusing to buy any manganese from Russia.... What nonsense! But it's the kind of nonsense we have to fight."

January 17, 1931-- "From one point of view it would be well if we could concentrate less on a passionate debate on Russia.... and more on getting ahead with our own business.... We've got to have a revolution, like Russia.... Nevertheless, it is, on the whole, natural and fitting that we should be marvelously interested in the great things that are being done in building a proletarian society in Russia."

October 25, 1930--.....there is much to be admired in communist zeal."

October 11, 1930--"The President at his worst"---re the President's King's Mountain speech in which he denounced communism. "Mr. Hoover is as wrong about socialism as he is about capitalism, which he calls the American system....."

September 20, 1930---"If we got power it would take more than ability to recite the Communist Manifesto backwards to enable us to do anything about it."

August 9, 1930--"When it comes to dealing with Communists, not only do the New York police lose sight of civil liberty, but of all standards of efficient policy. Nothing the communists did on the occasion of the most recent Union Square riot can possibly justify

the action of the police."

See statement of Norman Thomas on Pages 1310-11 of Lusk Report, "The Church and Conscientious Objectors."

On April 6, 1923, a circular letter was sent out by the Labor Defense Council, organized to raise funds for the defense of the communists arrested at Bridgman, Michigan, to which the signatures of John Nevin Sayre, Freda Kirchwey, Roger Baldwin, Capt. Paxton Hibben, Mary Heaton Vorse, Rev. Norman Thomas, Rev. Percy Stickney Grant, and Rev. John Haynes Holmes are attached.

From the National Republic, April, 1931.

According to the New Leader, national socialist organ, President Glenn Frank presided at a meeting of the University of Wisconsin Socialist Student Club on February 26th, at which Norman Thomas, socialist presidential candidate in 1928, who is now conducting a socialist party propaganda campaign in the colleges of the country, was the speaker. President Frank writes a signed feature which is widely distributed among newspapers throughout the country by the McClure Syndicate. In connection with the Norman Thomas meeting at Earlham College, Richmond, Ind., a display of the red flag was made on the automobile in which the socialist party leader was paraded through the streets. As a result the American Legion of Richmond has announced a series of Sunday afternoon meetings at which exclusive loyalty to the American flag will be defended.

NORMAN THOMAS - Left-wing Socialist; titular head of the Socialist Party in the United States; candidate for President of the United States on the Socialist Party ticket; member National Committee of the Red defending American Civil Liberties Union, whose Executive Director testified before the Congressional Committee, headed by Congressman Fish of New York, that the A.C.L.U. upholds the right to advocate, murder, assassination and the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence; member of American Committee opposed to alien registration; member Board of Directors of the American Fund For Public Service, which distributed over a million dollars to communist and other subversive forces in this country; member of the National Advisory Council to Abolish Capital Punishment; member of the Committee on Militarism in Education, composed of leaders of radical movements who oppose military training in any school or college in the United States; Executive Director of the Socialist League for Industrial Democracy; member of the Executive Board of the (Libby) National Council for the Prevention of War, who stated in a recent bulletin that Russia has found an advocate in us (the N.C.P.W.); member of the Board of Directors of the Pioneer Youth movement (Socialist); member of the National World Court Committee; Advisory Board of the National Religion and Labor Foundation; Advisory Board of the Russian Reconstruction Farms; Vice-Chairman of the Emergency Peace Committee (1932); contributor to "Socialist Planning and Socialist Program"; Advisory Committee of the New York Workers' Committee for Unemployment (Socialist); Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America; contributor to "Nation", "New Leader", "America for All" and other Socialistic publications; member of National Committee, League Against Fascism (1933); Chairman, Emergency Committee for Strikers' RELIEF O(1933).

NORMAN THOMAS - Left-wing Socialist; titular head of the Socialist Party in the United States; candidate for President of the United States on the Socialist Party ticket; member, National Committee of the Red defending American Civil Liberties Union, the Executive Director of which testified before the Congressional Committee headed by Congressman Fish of New York that the A. C. L. U. upholds the right to advocate murder, assassination and the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence; member, American Committee Opposed to Alien Registration; member, Board of Directors, American Fund for Public Service which distributed over a million dollars to communist and other subversive forces in this country; member, National Advisory Council to Abolish Capital Punishment; member, Committee on Militarism in Education, composed of leaders of radical movements who oppose military training in any school or college in the United States; Executive Director, (Socialist) League for Industrial Democracy; member, Executive Board, (Libby) National Council for the Prevention of War, which stated in a bulletin that Russia "has found an advocate in us" (N. C. P. W.); member, National World Court Committee; Advisory Board, National Religion & Labor Foundation; Advisory Board, Russian Reconstruction Farms; Vice-Chairman, Emergency Peace Committee (1932); contributor to "Socialist Planning and Socialist Program"; Advisory Committee, New York Workers' Committee for Unemployment (Socialist); Executive Committee, Socialist Party of America; contributor, "Nation", "New Leader", "America For All", and other Socialistic publications; member, national Committee, League Against Fascism, 1933; Chairman, Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 1933.

tar to the Congressman that you look on
f servant of the people, and that *you* are
w people. Praise him for the good part
record—be equally critical of his failures.
but not intense; be gracious no matter
tated you may get.

PEACE MEETINGS

peace meeting arrange to have a time
ss of the current legislative situation.
nebody report on the attitudes and ac-
f your Congressman and Senators. If
eting is on one particular legislative
ch as neutrality, or reciprocal tariffs—
d out your representative's stand and
it to the meeting.

get out releases for the newspapers
have reporters present. Your repre-
in Washington will know about your
f it is in the local papers.

ellent plan is to buy 100 penny post-
sell them for a penny at the end of the
any of the audience who wish to write
y to their representatives. They should
o do so.

timent of the meeting should be
in a Resolution, prepared beforehand
tted at the suitable time. It can be
e and general if you wish, but it is
o use each peace meeting to put more
or peace on the President and on

RESOLUTIONS

ns are futile if they are merely pious
of sentiment. They should be
d directed. The Resolution should
ddressed to the President, Senators,
tatives—or all of them.

olution should be offered and sec-
an ample opportunity for discussion
d any opposition to the Resolution
on't "railroad through" a Resolution.
re believe in democratic methods.

The Resolution should then be wired or air-mailed to whomever it is addressed—President, Secretary of State, Senators, Congressmen. Copies should be available immediately to the Press. Never forget that your Senators and Congressmen *always* read the local papers, no matter whether they are completely illiterate on every other bit of printed matter.

Therefore, a Resolution has *definite and important political value:*

(1) Because it is the time-honored way of expressing the joint will of a congregation of voters.

(2) Because newspapers usually print resolutions and thus your idea gets needed and valuable publicity.

OTHER PEOPLE'S MEETINGS

All sorts of organizations are constantly holding meetings. Many of these can be used for peace pressure purposes—women's clubs, parent-teacher groups, etc. Try to have a peace speaker at one meeting of each organization in your community—even if only for five minutes. And don't have general sweet peace speeches; get talks tied down to a current pressing topic. If possible have someone present a resolution for adoption. In any case have someone primed to ask pertinent questions.

FINALE

Peace is a political as well as an economic question. The threatening war situation makes it imperative that we use these methods *now* as effectively as possible, for the American people want peace. They must be helped to make that sentiment count.

War does not come by accident. It proceeds from definite causes—sometimes simple, sometimes complicated. But War cannot come if it is opposed by the great mass of the people.

We still have a democracy where the will of the people can be expressed. Let us use it.

101 | SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

FEATURE

(One of a series of articles on timely subjects - a weekly feature.)

THE WORLD IN REVIEW

By Joel Seidman

Labor Economist and Educator
Instructor at Brookwood Labor College.

It is unfortunate that the negotiations between the Committee for Industrial Organization and the A.F.of L. have been broken off without even a meeting between representatives of the two sides. The cause of unity in the American trade union movement deserves more careful consideration than that.

Last month, it will be recalled, the millinery workers at their convention proposed that the suspension of the C.I.O. unions be lifted, and that sub-committees of the executive council and the C.I.O. confer in an effort to reach a settlement.

The executive council appointed such a sub-committee, but refused to remove the suspension. The C.I.O. thereupon refused to appoint a group to confer. With the recent refusal by John L. Lewis to confer with William Green because Green stated that he lacked authority to change the council's ruling, a stalemate has been reached.

Thus affairs are being allowed to drift, with a split appearing not far off. Surely there must be enough statesmanship and practical idealism in the American labor movement to find some basis for unity which yet permits the organization of workers in the mass production industries.

• • • •

Steel Wage Increases

Every steel worker should realize that the grant of an average 10 per cent pay increase was due to the activities of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee. If the steel magnates will give this much in the hope of avoiding a union, how much more could a powerful union force from them?

Suddenly the steel companies have discovered virtues in signed agreements. Their dummy company unions were not invited to confer on the terms of the increase, but are now asked to sign agreements accepting them.

The reason is not hard to find. The companies fear that the question as to which organization can represent the workers may arise soon in labor board or court cases, and they want to destroy, if possible, the claims of the real union.

The worst feature of the proposal, however, is that which calls for automatic wage increases or decreases as the cost of living rises or falls. This would bind the workers to the present standard of living, which is far too low. American workers should have the right to steadily advancing standards.

The steel workers will not be fooled by these moves. They know that their only reliance is their own organized power.

• • • •

The New Farm Plan

The farm program advanced by the Roosevelt administration embodies the principles of the old A.A.A. Basically it seeks to reduce production in order to raise crop prices.

Planning is desired, to be sure, but it should be planning for plenty, not planning for scarcity. We need to produce, not less, but more. We need to plan, not to increase private profits, but to satisfy human needs and wants.

* * * *

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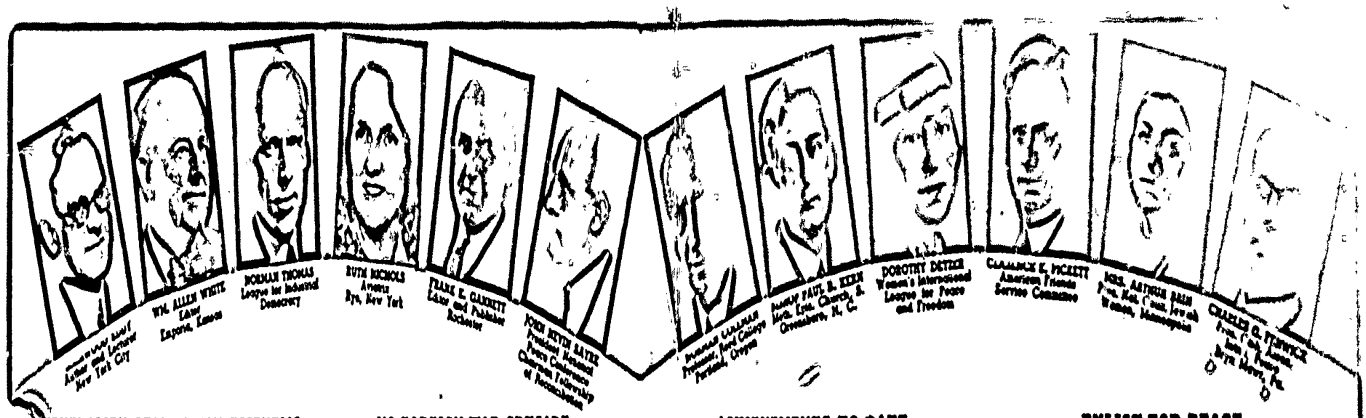


NEUTRALITY LEGISLATION ESSENTIAL

(Third Cycle of the Emergency Peace Campaign)

Many individuals and organizations are agreed that strong neutrality legislation is essential to keeping this country out of war. They are convinced that such legislation should contain mandatory provisions prohibiting the sale of munitions and all materials of warfare to belligerents and making it unlawful to grant loans and credits to them. It should firmly declare that if a citizen of this nation goes into the war zone or ships goods to that area, he does so at his own risk and the government assumes no responsibility to resort to armed action in his defense.

A nation-wide series of mass meetings and conferences to discuss neutrality legislation and provide support for it was launched in Philadelphia, January 7 with Maude Royden, England's famous woman preacher, Harry Emerson Fosdick and Sherwood Eddy as speakers.

REGIONAL OFFICES SET UP

In order to organize the country effectively the following regional offices were established January 1, 1937

ATLANTA, GA. 1101 Peachtree St.	HOUSTON, TEX. 1608 W. Alabama	NEW YORK, N. Y. 71 W. 23rd St.
BOSTON, MASS. 1 a Boylston St.	KANSAS CITY, KAN. Y.M.C.A. Bldg.	PHILADELPHIA, PA. 1321 Chestnut St.
CHICAGO, ILL. 53 W. Jackson Blvd.	LOS ANGELES, CAL. 1151 S. Western Ave.	PITTSBURGH, PA. 1321 Peoples Bank Bldg. Wood at 6th St.
DENVER Colo. St.	MADISON, WIS. 15 E. Dayton St.	PORTLAND, ORE. Y.M.C.A. Bldg.
DALLAS, TEX. Methodist Church	MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. 2nd Curtis Hotel	ST. LOUIS, MO. Y.M.C.A. Bldg.
HARTFORD, CONN. 130 Kenwood Ave. Wethersfield	NASHVILLE, TENN. 1415-16th Ave. S.	

In the immediate future offices will be opened in Virginia and up-state New York

NO-FOREIGN-WAR CRUSADE

(Fourth Cycle of the Emergency Peace Campaign)

The likelihood that the United States will be subjected to armed invasion is extremely remote. If, therefore, the sentiment against American participation in war in Europe or Asia can be made articulate and effective, there will remain only the slightest possibility that the United States will resort to war with any other nation.

The No-Foreign-War Crusade is being sponsored and carried forward by American citizens who are opposed to any act of imperialistic oppression by their own country, and who are convinced that the chief danger of war for their nation lies in the possibility that the United States may become involved in war in Europe or Asia. They are united in their determination to keep this country from sending ships or boys to fight in those areas. (Many Quakers and other participants go further and are opposed to all war.)

On April 6th, the twentieth anniversary of America's entrance into the "war to end war and to make the world safe for democracy," Admiral Byrd, Harry Emerson Fosdick and other prominent citizens, will launch the No-Foreign-War Crusade with a nation-wide radio broadcast. During the next two months some 2000 communities throughout the country will have outstanding speakers discuss this issue in great mass meetings, and in women's clubs, labor unions, chambers of commerce, veterans' associations, fraternal orders, luncheon clubs, churches, synagogues, student groups, etc.

ACHIEVEMENTS TO DATE

MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES in 278 cities last spring and 500 cities last fall were addressed by more than 500 prominent men and women who volunteered their services.

COLLEGE STUDENTS—250 of them—as Peace Volunteers worked in 50 rural areas in 23 states last summer. This winter 4000 are participating.

MINISTERS AND RABBIS have been the vanguard of the Campaign in many communities. Last spring 2500 agreed to speak five times for the Campaign within six weeks.

LABOR institutes and summer schools were attended by 190 workers from 33 trades in 28 states. Anti-war plays were presented in 24 states.

PRESS clippings, 45,000 inches, from approximately 1000 newspapers with paid circulation of 45,800,185 were received at headquarters. Publications using weekly news releases of NoFrontier News Service have a paid circulation of 10,000,000.

RADIO programs have included four national and many local broadcasts.

PEACE COUNCILS and EPC committees functioned in almost 1200 communities in cooperation with service clubs, women's clubs, youth, farm and labor groups.

ENLIST FOR PEACE

Every person can help in the nation-wide effort to change people's minds with regard to the basic problems of war and peace. Every citizen can bring pressure to bear upon government officials in behalf of peace legislation. And every individual can help to organize and carry forward a resolute peace movement in his community. If you are ready to use your power and influence to prevent war you are invited to register in the

NATIONAL PEACE ENROLLMENT

In order to help keep the United States out of war and to promote world peace—

☐ A. I agree to take part in peace education and peace action directed toward the removal of the causes of war and the strengthening of pacific means of settling international controversies.

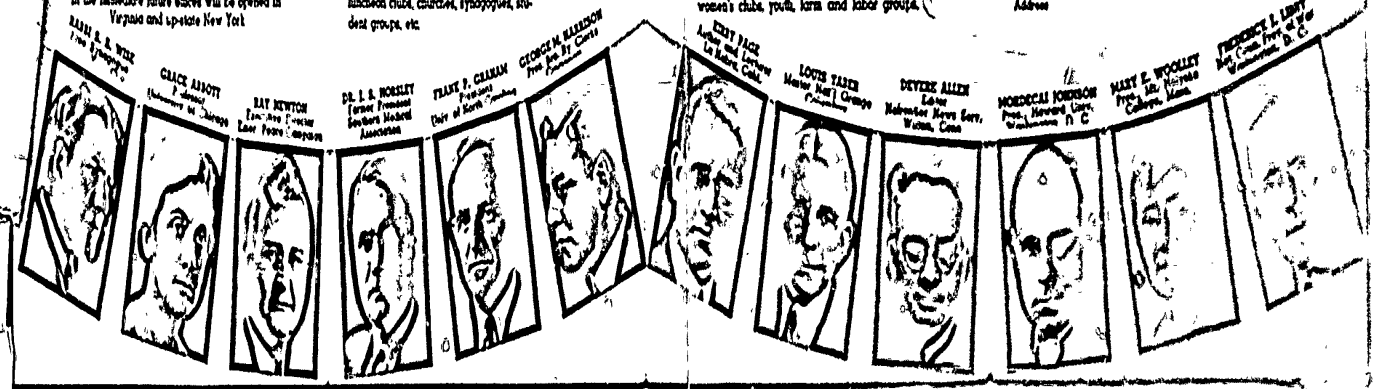
☐ B. I record my determination never to approve of or participate in any war, except to repel an unprovoked armed invasion of continental United States by a foreign foe.

☐ C. I record my determination never to approve of or participate in any war.

(Note B or C expresses your position, please check in addition to A.)

Signature _____

Address _____



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The New York Times
Book Review

Section 4

(Copyright, 1931, by The New York Times Company.)

SUNDAY, MARCH 29, 1931. THIRTY-TWO PAGES

A NEW PROGRAM FOR DEMOCRACY

Norman Thomas Outlines His Conception of a Socially Planned State

AMERICA'S WAY OUT: A PROGRAM FOR DEMOCRACY. By Norman Thomas. 334 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

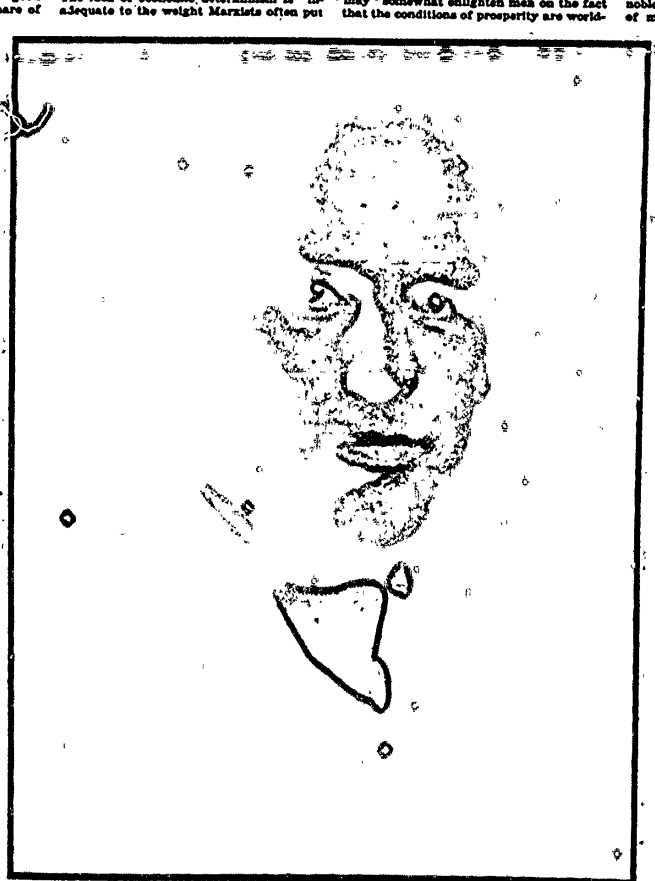
By WILLIAM MacDONALD

DR. THOMAS'S book smells of the soap box, as might have been expected of a man who, in addition to championing no end of good causes, has spent a considerable share of his time and energy in campaigning for the Presidency of the United States, or the Governorship of New York, or a seat in the House of Representatives, or the Mayoralty of New York City. The aroma is not offensive, however, for he has not only done much to make the soap box a forum for dignified and intelligent discussion of public questions, but he has also, in so doing, won in extraordinary measure the respect and esteem of his political opponents. When, accordingly, he sets out in a book his ideas of what the country of Mr. Hoover and the Wall Street barons of finance would be like if he could have the handling of it, he is assured in advance of a hearing not merely from such as are already convinced that socialism, in one form or another, is the foreordained way of democratic life, but also, and possibly even more, from those to whom socialism, in any form or by whomsoever advocated, is a subversive doctrine and a dangerous program.

It was not difficult, of course, for Mr. Thomas to show that the existing political and economic order, grounded in capitalism and the fruit of capitalistic nurture, falls far short of even approximate perfection and that progress, if it exists at all, is dishearteningly slow. There is no essential novelty in the demonstration that fills the first half of his book, and it is only fair to say that he claims no novelty for it. He merely recalls, as others have before him, that incomes are grossly unequal, that the contrasts of wealth and poverty are distressingly sharp, that wage earners of all classes are haunted by fear born of insecurity, and that personal freedom and justice are often grievously denied.

It is of the nature of capitalism, as Mr. Thomas sees it, that such things should be, and the "newer forms of capitalism" of which a good deal is now being said holds out for him no prospect of essential betterment. "The whole system," he declares, "is planless and chaotic." "Shifts in the value system give wealth without any effort on their own part to those who are fortunate enough to get in on the ground floor." People in favored positions are rewarded without regard to their abilities, a demoralizing luxury and competitive spending are emphasized, and "poverty and unemployment in the midst of potential plenty" produce "a new type of misery." The most that can be expected of the "new capitalism" is "a useful technical progress" in the broad sense and "some contribution to the relation of men to management." Collectivism and the present profit system do not go together. The way of social salvation is along more democratic lines.

What is the alternative? With all respect for the great influence of Karl Marx, Mr. Thomas is unable to find in pure Marxian socialism the philosophy or the program that is now needed. The plight of the Socialists after the World War made it clear that Marxian principles "did not of themselves automatically provide Socialists with the psychological insight and practical programs to deal easily and quickly with the problems of a war-torn world." The idea of economic determinism is "inadequate to the weight Marxists often put on it," and "it takes more than shouting class struggle effectively to organize a Socialist world or even a Socialist party."



Norman Thomas.

Photo by The New York Times Studio.

The case is no better for communism, which Mr. Thomas sees as "a secular religion," "a religion of the mass and the machine." "The good life for man" will not, he thinks, be evolved through a dictatorship of any kind, nor is there any evidence in Russia that the "deathless desire," albeit of a minority, for intellectual and moral freedom will automatically be granted as a Communist order is established and the immediate perils to it fade away. On the contrary, the Communist religion gives the crowd and its manipulators new warrant for their own intolerance and lust of power.

The need of an alternative is heightened, in Mr. Thomas's view, by the continuing danger of war. It is possible that international capitalism may do something to prevent war among strong nations and may "somewhat enlighten men on the fact that the conditions of prosperity are world-wide rather than purely national." The greatest objection, however, is that international capitalism, by neglecting the danger from exploited workers unwilling longer to put up with capitalist dictation, may actually substitute class war "on a huge scale" for national wars.

Why not, then, turn to democracy and translate that theory of society into a working and satisfying fact? Mr. Thomas believes in democracy, but he sees serious objections to what passes under that name. For one thing, democracy as a practical arrangement suffered heavily in the World War—so heavily, indeed, as to suggest that it is practically certain to give way to dictatorship whenever the war pressure is put upon it. Moreover, the extravagant claims made for it by its friends have done it no good. "Today it requires no argument to prove that if the voice of the people is the voice of God, God says some strange things." Democracy is still "a noble conception of the worth and dignity of men," it is still at its best "a magnificent challenge," but it will not become effective until the inconsistency of "an autocratic or nearly autocratic industrial system and an allegedly democratic political system" is done away with, until civil liberty and free speech are assured, and until the political machinery through which it works is radically changed.

We come, then, to socialism. A socialism that is to inspire confidence must have, according to Mr. Thomas, a philosophy, a program and "an organization equal to the task of winning plenty and peace and freedom, not indeed without suffering or struggle, but without a suicidal and self-defeating degree of violence." Without a philosophy it will be only a kind of liberal opportunism bereft of general principles; without a program it will offer nothing definite to take hold of; without an organization it cannot hope to accomplish anything worth while. What has Mr. Thomas, easily the most conspicuous protagonist of socialism in the United States at the present moment, to offer under these heads?

The cornerstone of the socialist philosophy which he undertakes to expound is "the absolute necessity of planned control of the resources and machinery of the world in the common interest." Such a control will not consider consumers at the expense of workers, it will not "contemplate a static Utopia," and it will not draw too sharp a distinction between immediate and ultimate ends. "It is a philosophy of ultimate plenty for all, but it is not a philosophy of easy transition without toil." The change will not come overnight; on the contrary, socialism may "go along" with social reformers in some of their demands, and in any case it will experiment.

Briefly, the program comprises the acquisition and control by the State of whatever is necessary for the common life. First in the list come the "key" industries, some of which are now more or less effectively controlled by public authority, but all of which should eventually pass out of private hands. The purchase will cost money, but the difficulties of purchase are psychological more than financial, and in any case the transfer would result in "an immediate saving to the public." Confiscation, apparently, is not to be thought of, although the amount to be paid will not necessarily be the seller's price. Once acquired, such industries should be self-administering, with directorates representing producers in the industry and consumers in general. They would not be subject to political administration.

Mr. Thomas rejects the single tax, but he nevertheless suggests "the possible utility of a tax equivalent to the rental value of the land as a means of getting rid of private (Continued on Page 19)

101 SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

Smoking Out the Candidates + + +

Socialist Chief Answers All Questions

Presidential Nominee Tells What He'd Do if Elected

In this article, Norman Thomas, Socialist nominee for president, answers the issues he mentioned when very ably quoted by Republican candidate in Friday's installment, "Smoking Out the Candidates."

By WILLIS THORNTON

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Norman Thomas is a candidate who doesn't expect to be elected—this time. He'll tell you so quite frankly.

But don't get the idea that Thomas isn't in earnest about his candidacy. He is. He is more interested, however, in principles that he believes must triumph eventually, than he is in making deals and maneuvers that might increase his vote this fall.

Thomas

The earnestness of this grayhaired man of 52 is clear. The Socialist party convention has just nominated him to run a third time for the presidency.

He has spent most of the past year in trying to help southern share-cropper farmers to organize in the face of bitter local opposition.

WIFE AT SIDE

Mrs. Thomas, who accompanies the ex-Presbyterian minister on all his speaking tours and campaigns, acting as a personal secretary, sits quietly in the room as Thomas studies the questions.

She is knitting, this wife of an agitator for peaceful revolution, but there is nothing about her that suggests the women of the French revolution who knitted with gleaming eyes as the heads rolled. It is only by contrast that the thought comes at all.

Mrs. Thomas is a small, gentle and quiet woman, mother of five children. It is for a garment for a small grandson that the yarn is being wound on her expert fingers. She rises from time to time to handle phone calls for her husband.

RAPS CAPITALISM

"I'll be glad to answer these questions," says Thomas.

"Of course they are all based on the existing order of capitalism, in which I don't believe. But if a Socialist government were to be elected on Nov. 2, that wouldn't mean Socialism on Nov. 4. There would have to be a period of transition even then, of cleaning up the problems piled up by decaying capitalism."

And immediately without a hem or a haw, Thomas dictated his answers. They are presented in an adjoining column.

POINTS TO HITLER

"Socialists this year will be expected to vote the Socialist ticket," Thomas made clear. "There will be no trucking with plans like voting for Roosevelt to help defeat a reactionary Republican, or trying to support a hastily-contrived Farmer-Labor party with neither farmers nor labor behind it. No 'united front' with Communists or others.

"The plan of supporting a 'liberal' regime to keep the reactionaries out has been exploded by experience. I voted for Wilson in 1916 because 'he kept us out of war.' What did we get? War. The German Social Democrats voted for Hindenburg to defeat reaction. What did they get? Hindenburg and Hitler, and then just Hitler."

FARM-LABOR PARTY?

Thomas regards a Farmer-Labor or a united labor party as a very distinct possibility for 1940, but "not if they try to start organizing it in 1940. It's got to be well started by 1938." It is more than likely that the Socialists would support a genuine party of this kind, Thomas indicated.

Twenty years of political and social campaigning are behind the mind which dictates answers to the 10 questions almost faster than the reporter can write them down. A tall, broad-shouldered figure rises as the last answer is written.

NORMAN THOMAS

Norman Thomas Says Dole Better Than 'Made Work'

Warns That Government Debt Will Bring Inflation if Continued; Sees Housing as Answer to Unemployment Problem

FIRST, before answering any of the questions, I must make it clear as a Socialist that you are asking me how to run a capitalist system in which I do not believe. Nevertheless, should a Socialist be elected President, he would first have to clear away the debris and liquidate certain problems left behind by capitalism. So, because I am a candidate for the presidency, I think it only fair that I indicate how I would deal with the immediate problems proposed, should I be elected. I am glad to do so.

• • •

(1) Do you favor balancing the budget? If so, do you advocate reducing relief expenditures by increasing taxes? If by taxes, what kind?

Ideally, yes. Practically, a budget so far out of balance can't be continued much farther without very serious inflation. It is ridiculous, however, to talk of a balanced budget by reducing relief expenditures until we have done far more than we have up to now to get rid of unemployment. Taxes will have to be increased and the increase should fall on incomes, inheritances and corporation surpluses (this is no indorsement of the House bill). There should also be a land value tax and for purposes of debt reduction and for hastening Socialism, a graduated capital levy rising to virtual expropriation in the higher brackets. But I would leave inflation enough to keep him out of the poorhouse.

• • •

(2) Should relief be by direct cash payments or as wages? Should relief be paid for and administered by the Federal Government or by the states, or both?

Relief should be thru the payment of the prevailing wage for useful work wherever it is possible to provide useful work. It could have been provided on a much greater scale under an adequate program of public housing. Direct relief is better than "made work"—on the whole, it is less destructive of morale. It is hypocritical nonsense to talk of states bearing the burden of relief. In their present hard-pressed situation only a few could do it. The first states to holler if this burden were returned to them would be the Democratic states-rights states of the South.

• • •

(3) How should the problem of permanent unemployment and care of the aged and unemployed be handled?

Thru adequate social security legislation. I favor in principle the Frazier-Lundeen bill. I regard the present security bill as an insecurity bill. But I doubt if our disintegrating capitalism can bear the cost of really adequate security.

• • •

(4) Do you favor further devaluation of the dollar or stabilization at present gold content? Do you believe in any form of currency change, currency inflation or credit inflation, a return to the gold standard, or a managed currency?

I am entirely opposed to currency or credit inflation. I believe in the principle of a managed currency, but not in the form of any of the plans cranks send to me. I do not believe that under the present system we are likely to get an effectively managed currency without public ownership of the banks and credit machinery. I am opposed to further complication of the situation by continuing the unsound silver purchase policy which has proved so disastrous to China.

• • •

(5) Do you favor any program whose aim is to control or fix wages, working hours or a shorter work week?

As a Socialist, my whole interest is in democratically managed, socially owned industry rather than in control by Government of private industry, but as things are, most emphatically I do favor all these controls, as imperfect means of improving the unemployment situation.

• • •

(6) Do you favor an amendment to the Constitution authorizing the Federal Government to deal with economic and social problems, national in scope, or in limiting the courts as to their right to declare laws of Congress unconstitutional?

Emphatically, yes! Our party is the principle advocate of the "farmers' and workers' rights amendment" originally drafted by that very able lawyer, Morris Hillquit, and introduced in modified form by Sen. Benson and Rep. Marcantonio.

• • •

(7) Do you favor modification or suspension of the anti-trust laws to enable business men to get together! (a) to agree on trade practices, (b) to agree on labor relations, (c) to agree on control of production, (d) to attempt to fix prices?

It doesn't interest me much. Neither the anti-trust laws nor any modification of them will work, under capitalism, for any desirable social end.

• • •

(8) What is your remedy for the farmer? Do you favor the curtailment of production, industrial or agricultural?

I do not favor any curtailment while the legitimate needs and wants of Americans are unsatisfied. For the farmer, I believe in the socialization of marketing agencies, agricultural councils of the most representative farmers on the use of land, socialization of the great plantations, especially those in the cotton country, to be cropped co-operatively under expert guidance. In general, as a Socialist, I favor abolition of private landlordism and occupancy of homes and one-family farms on the basis of titles based on actual occupation and use of the property.

• • •

(9) Are you in favor of the policy of making reciprocal trade treaties to encourage foreign trade or reduce tariff walls?

Yes, but it has a limited usefulness.

• • •

(10) Do you favor a policy of public power development; the continuance of expansion of TVA and control of public utilities thru the Utilities Holding Company Act?

Yes, but if a Socialist had been in office, he would not have subjected the utilities to regulation by the holding companies act, but would have used such an act thru the holding company set-up to take over the utilities of the country for the people.

SPEED FLIER LEAVES D. C. IN TRY FOR WORLD RECORD

Bob Brock, 22, speed pilot, flew over a 1000-kilometer course today in an attempt to establish a new international light plane record.

Brock took off from Hoover Field at 6:27 a. m. He flew north to Floyd Bennett Field, N. Y., thence south to Norfolk, Va., and back to Washington. He planned to make two complete circuits of the course. There are no national records for either distance. The international 1000 kilometer record is held by France with an average speed of 181 miles per hour.

Army Pilot Makes 'Blind' Flight From New York to Coast

By United Press

LOS ANGELES — Maj. Ira C. Eaker was acclaimed today for his "blind" flight from New York to Los Angeles in 23 hours.

He flew all the way in a hooded cockpit, guided only by his instrument panel and information radioed to him from a convoy plane flown by Maj. William E. Kepner.

Maj. Eaker took off from New York last Wednesday noon. His elapsed flying time was 23 hours, 10 minutes. He made landings at Washington, D. C., Spartanburg, S. C., Montgomery, Ala., Shreveport, La., Dallas, Midland and El Paso, Tex., and Tucson, Ariz.

VISIT AN Electric KITCHEN
HEALTH HOME.

Hearst Wins Point Here in Anti-Lobby Group Row

The U. S. Court of Appeals granted William Randolph Hearst a special appeal today from the decision of a lower court which dismissed his request for an injunction against the Black senatorial investigating committee.

Hearst sought an injunction to prevent the committee from obtaining his messages from telegraph company files during their investigation of lobbying practices.

Under the appeal granted today, his case against the committee will be heard simultaneously with action against the Federal Communications Commission, as co-defendant.

Townsend at Cleveland; Plans Control of House

By United Press

CLEVELAND — Dr. Francis E. Townsend planned today to throw 8000 pension clubs into the election campaign to "capture" the House next November.

He arrived here on the eve of the Republican convention, but denied trying to influence the G. O. P. platform. He passed virtually unnoticed thru a hotel lobby jammed with convention delegates, on his way to a Townsend "Youth Meeting." He is to continue to Washington shortly.

Townsend's presidential campaign strategy, previously announced, is "anyone but Roosevelt."

Hoey Leading McDonald in North Carolina Vote

By United Press

RALEIGH, N. C.—The Democratic nomination for governor rests between Clyde R. Hoey, an elderly lawyer, and Ralph W. McDonald, 33-year-old college professor, returns of Saturday's primary from 1671 of North Carolina's 1850 precincts showed today.

Hoey held a 6000-vote margin over his younger opponent. They will vie in a run-off July 4.

Josiah W. Bailey, North Carolina's senior senator, was assured of being returned to the Senate as he held a lead of 84,000 over his nearest rival.

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101 SOCIALISTS — NORMAN THOMAS

Taylor 5/25/31

EVENING POST, WE

WITZERSHAM ASKS THOMAS ELECTION

Socialist Is "Outstanding Candidate" for Borough President, Says Commission Chief

BALLOT INQUIRY GOES ON

By RICHARD F. WARNER

With increasing enthusiasm, the campaign to foster the vote of Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Borough President (Manhattan), with George W. Witzersham, president Republican and Tilden Hoover's chairman of the Law Enforcement Commission, taking the lead openly in advocating Mr. Thomas's election.

Mr. Witzersham, in a letter, stated that practical politics must go and stated that in Mr. Thomas the voters had the outstanding candidate. While at the talk for Mr. Thomas increases, the danger from the Republican point of view is that independents will refrain from voting for their local candidates.

To combat this danger the Republican leaders are now doing their best to convince the electorate that the local candidates are in no way responsible for what Colonel Edward C. Carrington, G. O. P. nominee for the Borough Presidency, has done or may say.

Meanwhile, the investigation of registration in the Fifteenth Assembly District is going on, with the Attorney General's office and the Bolmeister committee both scheduled to hear witnesses.

Bryce Winter, Republican leader of the district, is not only busy checking up on registration, but also busy issuing statements about it. In his latest Mr. Winter says:

"I am taking vigorous steps before November 4 to stamp out this illegal registration and voting both by instituting criminal proceedings against the instigators and civil proceedings to strike out the registration.

"As an example of this situation, on the last day of registration each column drew up to the polls at 1500 Madison Avenue in one large car and registered, giving as address in that twenty-third floor. None had a home for residency at that place.

"Then in addition in Madison Avenue two members registered last Saturday under fictitious names and only one was known, and he occupied a two-room apartment the day before the registration, and less than thirty days before starting.

"In another example, a member registering in the Thirty-third Election District, gave a 1500 Avenue address and his occupation as a stenographer employed by a well-known lawyer. I have no evidence that this employer is unknown to the lawyer and had never been in his employ and does not reside at his apartment.

"These are merely a few instances of obviously collusive and false registration throughout the district."

Tammany Hall, anxious to save Democratic Mr. Witzersham has asked vote Democratic President, is actively for the referendum amendment, the amendment against which former Governor Alfred E. Smith is campaigning. There seems no any possibility of the amendment's passing, since even the Republican Party now supporting it.

Those who just vote against it, will be those who policy enjoying Jim Smith's humorous.

Continued on Page Five.

11,000 HEAR THOMAS IN SOCIALIST WIND-UP

He Appeals at Two Rallies for Big Vote to Compel 'Decent Action' by Government.

SEES 'HITLER MENACE' HERE

Hillquit Derides "Sham Battle" of Old Parties, Saying Socialism Offers People 'New Deal'.

Before an audience of 2,000 in the Bronx Coliseum yesterday afternoon and again in the evening at the Repubblica Academy of Music, where another 2,000 filled the auditorium, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, Louis Waldman, Governor nominee, Morris Hillquit, who is running for Mayor, and Charles Solomon, candidate for United States Senator, made final plea for the Socialist cause.

Although the Socialists plan a series of meetings in various parts of the city today, yesterday's rallies marked the climax of their campaign, which they termed the most successful one ever conducted by the Socialist party.

Mr. Thomas assailed both President Hoover and Governor Roosevelt as "the candidates of capitalism," the "doom" of which he undertook to pronounce. He said that the experience of the depression and what he characterized as "the low intellectual level of the campaigns conducted by the Republicans and Democrats" proved the necessity of a strong Socialist party in the United States. He expressed confidence that the campaign now drawing to a close would mark the beginning of the growth of such a party.

"Mr. Roosevelt bears the stamp of Wall Street's approval. Even Owen D. Young, the allegedly liberal capitalist, who assures Mr. Hoover that no man is indispensable," Mr. Thomas said. "Mr. Young's liberalism resembles Mr. Roosevelt's. It is a matter of words which do not interfere with his deeds.

Republicans vs. Democrats.

"If you vote Republican you vote for a system of paternalistic capitalism under which the government gets deeper and deeper in business for the sake of saving business. And it has not succeeded in saving business and it has shamefully neglected to divert the human needs of the unemployed.

"If you vote Democratic you vote for the same capitalistic system under slightly different trimming. If anything, the Democratic party is more remarkable and in instances more corrupt and more stupidly reactionary even than the Republican."

Mr. Thomas charged that capitalism had become "a system of planned restriction," saying that the only answer to capitalism "is the Socialist blend of a commonwealth of workers with hand and brain who collectively own the machinery of great production and the natural resources and distribute equitably the product of such labor."

SOCIALISTS IGNORE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Group Is Not Important, Says Chief Of Socialist Union

Marx Leaders Assert Party Is Not Interested in Building Union Drive

ASKS HOOVER TO SIFT CAMPBELL CHARGES

Democratic President-to-Be Is Referred to Leaders in Cities

MILLS AND HILLQUIT

Says Thomas Is Well Capacitated to Wage Contest Trying to Prevent Such Over-Vote

RELIEF USED TO EAT VOTES, SAYS THOMAS

Socialist Candidate Tells Bronx Crowd Tammany Is Feeding Poor

HE APPEALS FOR FUNDS

Hillquit Says Campaign Will Prove Success Even Without Funds

Socialist Authorities Disclaim Thomas

N. Y. Scribes Attack Thomas & Red Flag

NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JUNE 30, 1930.

WOULD END RACKETS THROUGH SOCIALISM

Norman Thomas Holds Capitalism Responsible for Belief in "Folly of Work."

CHASE ASSAILS "BALLYHOO"

Coleman, at Final Session of Industrial Democracy League, Denounces Cheapening of Idealism.

Special to The New York Times.

FOREST PARK, Pa., June 29.—The cure for racketeering and the prevailing notion of the folly of work is effective, cooperative and genuinely democratic control of the ever-growing collectivism of an interdependent world, said Norman Thomas of New York at the closing session today of the Summer conference of the League for Industrial Democracy [illegible].

Stuart Chase, economist and author of "Men and Machines," and McAlister Coleman, who has written a biography of Eugene V. Debs, spoke at this morning's session on the more sophisticated forms of racketeering or "ballyhoo."

[illegible] has inculcated a belief in the folly of work by its divorce of ownership and responsibility, by its bestowal of huge rewards upon land speculators and by the inevitable replacement of an early Puritan code by a gambling mania, Mr. Thomas said.

"The early capitalist, whose historic rôle I emphatically acknowledge, stressed the Puritan virtues of work, thrift and that superficial honesty which is the best policy," he said.

"But capitalism which began by extolling thrift has already reached the stage where it must preach spending and ever more spending as the secret of prosperity. Its actual practice and its standards of success have produced the gambler's psychology and the belief in the folly of work.

"Finally, this type of world makes it natural that men should arise who see no difference between legal business and illegal racketeering, thus crushing the old notion of honesty.

"The cure for racketeering goes deep, and if I can put it in one word it is socialism—a socialism that will progressively socialize natural resources and basic industries, and will teach a new appreciation of the dignity and honor and necessity of work."

Mrs. Chase, picturing the milder "rackets," quoted John Ruskin's word, "illth," to describe the product of the labor of the idle rich, the obese middle man, the patent medicine vendor, the profiteer, the absentee landlord, the high-pressure salesman and what he termed other honor "racketeers."

"The literary 'racketeer,' panicking the public into buying literary culture by bulk, the personality builder, the etiquette corrector, the ghost writer, the public relations counsel, the fake publicity magazine, the genealogy 'racket,' the testimonial broker and the professional 'patriot' are all draining our people of money," Mr. Chase said.

Continuing the attack on Ballyhoo, Mrs. Coleman denounced the wholesale cheapening of American standards of idealism summed up in the slogan, "Success Dresses the Part."

He criticized the Socialist party for its failure to protest against the acts of the British Labor party in India and the "corrupt bureau" of the American Federation of Labor, declaring that again a successful party label had blinded American Socialists.

Questions and comment from the floor revealed sharp differences of opinion. B. C. Vladeck, managing editor of The Jewish Daily Forward, defended the Federation of Labor, asserting that despite its corruption and apathy it was performing valuable service for the American worker. Samuel H. Friedman of The New Leader defended the Socialist party against assertions that Socialist home life and conversation differed little, if at all, from capitalistic life.

URGED FOR POWER BOARD.

Julius Frank of Ogdensburg Is Backed for St. Lawrence Post.

Special to The New York Times.

OGDENSBURG, N. Y., June 29.—Governor Roosevelt has under consideration Julius Frank, former Mayor of Ogdensburg, for appointment as one of the five members of the St. Lawrence River Water Power Commission authorized by the State Legislature.

Appointment of Mr. Frank is being urged to give Northern New York representation. He was a pioneer in advocating development of the river and has constantly been identified with the movement since.

11/1130

NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 17,

Brooklyn College Girls Evade Ban on Thomas; Hear Socialist Outside During Lunch Hour

Norman Thomas was forbidden to address the Social Science Club, composed of young women, at Brooklyn College, but the Social Science Club was not forbidden to hear Norman Thomas, so some 300 students went without luncheon yesterday and hurried down to Kings Republican headquarters. There Mr. Thomas delivered his scheduled address at the invitation of the Intercollegiate Republican League.

No signs were posted about the college and no announcement had been made regarding the change in plans, which came at the last minute, after Miss Adele Bildersee, dean of women at Brooklyn College, had announced the Socialist candidate for Congress from the Sixth Brooklyn District would not be permitted to speak there.

Throughout the morning an effective "grapevine" communication was in operation, and by noon everybody interested in the discussed address knew of the meeting. From the large attendance it appeared that many non-members also had developed a sudden interest in the forbidden utterance of the Socialist leader.

Miss Gwendolyn Lewis, vice president of the club, presided at the meeting and introduced Mr. Thomas, who was loudly applauded. He drew laughter with the remark that he hoped the incident was a sign of new life in the "dying Republican party."

As he had promised, his address was non-partisan, and for the most part he was content to stick close to his subject, "Why Politics Matters."

"One voter is not just as good as another and never has been," he declared. "In this mechanical democracy undue importance is given to mere counting of noses, but what is behind the noses matters more. You young women must get political understanding, you must know the issues and ramifications in politics. You must make the vote sacred."

Dean Bildersee said, when informed of the meeting, that it was the privilege of students to follow their own inclinations in matters that did not touch the college authority. "Mr. Thomas," she said, "was forbidden to speak here because we do not feel that a candidate for office should make a personal address in the halls of a campaign under the auspices of the college."

REDS HECKLE THOMAS AT UKRAINIAN PROTEST

Socialist Leader Asks Police to Be Gentle With Disturbers Ejected From Meeting.

11/1130

Norman Thomas appeared at a meeting of Ukrainians at Cooper Union last night to join in a protest against reported persecutions by Poles in East Galicia, but had to interrupt his address to plead with policemen "not to be rough" with several Communists at the meeting who insisted on heckling the Socialist leader.

The Communists, who threatened to throw the gathering of about 2,600 persons into an uproar with their repeated interruptions during Mr. Thomas's talk, were ejected by the police.

The Socialist leader was saying that it was "too bad that the Poles, themselves persecuted so unjustly for more than two centuries, should now adopt a policy of persecution against helpless Ukrainians" when a man in the audience stood up and shouted: "How about India? What have you to say about that?"

Attempts to silence him failed and the police intervened, but as policemen led the yelling Communist from the meeting an apparently hysterical woman rose and cried: "You Socialists are just as bad as the capitalists. You work just as good with the police." She, too, was taken out, as were several others who seemed inclined to take her part.

When quiet was restored, Mr. Thomas urged that every one should do his utmost to fight against tyranny. He asked that the State Department investigate the reported "reign of terror" imposed on Ukrainians in East Galicia by the Poles.

He said after the meeting that he regretted the interruption by the Communists and that he was pleased that the police had been gentle in their handling of the hecklers.

Former Magistrate Charles A. Oberwager, honorary president of the German-American Federation, was another speaker.

Miroslav Sichinsky, who presided, alleged that the Poles were striving "to wipe out the Ukrainian minority."

11/15 B—15

THOUSANDS HEAR THOMAS AT GARDEN

Students and Young Socialists Wind Through Aisles In "Snake Dance."

By the Associated Press.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, New York, November 4.—In his first campaign address in his home city, Norman Thomas last night said "the American Socialists do not propose to repeat the excusable mistake of our British comrade in simply using the power to tax to better the ills of the profit system."

To the thousands who filled every seat and many aisles in this sports arena, the Socialist nominee for the presidency declared:

"We intend to change the system which inevitably breeds unemployment."

Thousands of red handkerchiefs, waving amidst prolonged applause, greeted the belated arrival of Thomas. Of the Garden's 22,000 seats 12,000 were purchased for this rally at 25 cents each.

Early in his address Thomas touched upon the participation of Owen D. Young in the Democratic campaign, saying:

"The hollowness of Mr. Hoover's fear of Gov. Roosevelt as a radical is conclusively proved by Young's speaking for Roosevelt.

"Mr. Young is a dominant figure in the Radio Corporation of America. He was one of Insull's favorite insiders. It is he who backs Roosevelt most fervently—and naive Progressives still expect Roosevelt to curb the power trust."

From one of the galleries students of Columbia University dangled a banner proclaiming:

"Columbia Professors May Like Roosevelt's Speeches, But the Students Vote for Thomas."

This section, together with the Young People's Socialist League, for more than half an hour made of the rally an old-fashioned college "pep" meeting by wending through the aisles in a "snake dance."

They mixed their cheers with the singing of the "Internationale."

Last night's rally was the climax to the most widespread campaign in Socialist history—that has taken either Thomas or James H. Maurer, vice presidential candidate, into every State of the Union.

The first mention of President Hoover's name by Maurer brought several minutes of boos and hisses.

"The President," Maurer said, "told us we need confidence. That isn't the trouble. The merchants have confidence—what they need are customers. The manufacturers have confidence—what they need are orders."

Thomas, Leader Of Socialists, Says Their Fight Has Just Begun

Former Candidate For President And New York Mayoralty Contender Asserts Greatest Enemy Of Reform Is Apathy—Addresses Collegians

"Like most men, I would rather die with my boots on than with them off."

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President in 1928 and recent Socialist Mayoralty candidate in New York, made this statement yesterday after he had addressed the second annual Intercollegiate Liberal Conference held here. At the meeting his topic was "Public Ownership of Power Resources in the United States."

Just Started Fight

Asked why he, the executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, and other Socialist party leaders continue fighting for reforms such as public ownership in the face of repeated defeats, Mr. Thomas said:

"We have not been defeated. We have just begun to fight. It is not reasonable to expect that we could accomplish much in the ten or twelve years we have been campaigning for these needed reforms.

"And we have scored victories," he continued. "They have, for the most part, been negative successes.

Upholds His Work

"It is wrong to think that things could not be worse than they are. If it had not been for the work I and others have done things would have been worse, economically and socially.

"We have had some positive but only partial success. Witness the growing support for old age pensions. Of course, the schemes proposed are but bastard versions of those the Socialist party advocates, but they are.

"I have not had to sacrifice much. My work has cost me very little."

For one thing, he asserted, referring casually to his private income, "I have been one of the fortunate and undeserving few.

For another, the friends I have lost because of my views and activities have been succeeded by even more valuable friends I should not otherwise have had."

Mr. Thomas declared the greatest enemy of socialization and reform is apathy.

Apathy Is Detested

"I detest apathy," he continued. "This attitude that says, 'Well, you know how things are?' And it's just apathy again that make people ask if anything at all can be accomplished without bloodshed, revolt, absolute overthrow of the existing order.

"No great social and economic change was ever the result of bloodshed, I am convinced. Progress and social change have been gradual developments. Wars have had little or nothing to do with it."

President Is Assailed At Students' Conference

Delegates to the Intercollegiate Liberal Conference at the Johns Hopkins University last night heard Herbert Hoover denounced directly and by inference as the public's chief enemy in the power fight.

Benjamin Marsh, executive director

Balto Sun. Sunday 3/30/30

THE SUN

Thomas, Leader Of Socialists, Says Their Fight Has Just Begun

Former Candidate For President And New York Mayoralty Contender Asserts Greatest Enemy Of Reform Is Apathy—Addresses Collegians

(Continued from Page 30)

King, National Popular Government League director, by inference.

"If the Caraway lobby committee really wants to investigate the power lobby," Marsh declared, "they'd summon that most deadly of all power lobbyists, the man in the White House.

"And they'd ask him what stock he owns in public utility companies.

City Campaign Contributions

"Also they'd ask him—and not his puppet, Huston—what contributions the Republican party received in 1928 from public utility interests."

"There is a good chance now that Senator Norris' Muscle Shoals bill will be passed by the Congress," Mr. King told the delegates from twenty-three colleges.

Newspaper Man Talks

Paul Y. Anderson, Washington correspondent of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and winner of the 1928 Pulitzer prize for his reporting of the Teapot Dome investigation, described the efforts of the power propagandists as bared in recent investigations.

"I suppose," he said in conclusion, "some one will ask what should be done about this. It is a rather difficult question. Doubtless someone will say, 'Pass a law.' I haven't much confidence in laws of that sort.

"Pass a law to control harmful propaganda and soon you will find it being used to bar the BALTIMORE SUN, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the Nation from the mails, and to enjoin Judson King from writing pamphlets. The people who enforce the laws are on the side of the power trust."

file Soc. 1930 11/2/36

Text of Norman Thomas's Address at Socialist Rally

The speech of Norman Thomas at the Socialist rally in Madison Square Garden yesterday follows:

The skies over Europe and Eastern Asia are black with the clouds of war. No one knows when they may break in floods of devastation, or what will be the consequences to America of this fresh carnival of death. Yet the discussion in this political campaign has scarcely touched the issue of peace except in terms of platitudinous generalities.

President Roosevelt has given us the greatest appropriations for the army and navy in the whole world. An administration which has not been able even to begin building homes for the third of our people who live in shacks and slums has dotted the country with its armories and spread the seas with its navies.

Part of its vast expenditure has been in the name of giving relief to the unemployed and all of it has been in the name of defense. Yet neither Mr. Roosevelt nor his Republican rival, who has not challenged this expenditure, has given us any definition of what we are defending. Both of them have accepted our anomalous position in the Philippines with the stake that that position gives us in the quarrels of the Far East.

Neither of them has given any clear definition of genuine neutrality, nor told us plainly how we shall take the profit not only out of war, but preparation for war, and still keep the capitalist system. There has indeed been talk of universal conscription of men and wealth in the next war, but the threat of it will not of itself prevent new war and, in the event of that quarrel, conscription of wealth under a capitalist government will be lenient. But the farmer at his plow, the worker at his bench, as well as the soldier in the trenches, will be bound in absolute slavery to the war machine.

Finds No Constructive Plan

Our political leaders, Mr. Roosevelt in particular, have talked much about our amiable intentions and what the President calls our program of "good neighborliness." That has not prevented our ambassadors in Cuba from open support of reactionary tyranny, nor has it led to any constructive suggestions for the solution of the problems of a world in which nations as well as men are divided inexorably into the House of Have and Have-not.

It is only we Socialists who have urged American leadership in disarmament, the complete denunciation of imperialism, genuine neutrality, and a program for taking profit out of war and preparation for war. The program does not require the conscription of men but of wealth. It cannot, however, be made too clear that we want to socialize America to make peace glorious, not to conscript America for purposes of war and Fascism.

Our general policy may be summed up in the phrase "cooperation in what makes for peace, isolation in what makes for war." We do not believe that a capitalist America can be trusted to apply military sanctions for ideal ends, or that it should go to war to enforce peace. The sanctions in which alone is hope are workers' sanctions.

The crisis of our times involves not only peace but freedom. We have steadily lost ground during the past few years in our understanding and practice of civil liberty. I have only to recite the melancholy catalogue: the silly but dangerous epidemic of loyalty oaths for teachers; the private armies and arsenals which great corporations have gathered for industrial warfare; the rise of the abominable Black Legion in Michigan and Ohio, and the revival of the Ku Klux Klan, especially in Florida; Governor McNutt's military law in Indiana, a form of Hoosier Hitlerism likely to be contagious in other States; vigilantes in California; flogging, kidnapping and murder in Florida and Alabama; the extraordinary infamy and terrorism of the plantation system in Eastern Arkansas, protected and defended by the President's friend, Senator Joe Robinson; the repeated denials of the right of speech and assemblage to minority groups, even to a Presidential candidate.

Against these crimes, many of them in Democratic States, President Roosevelt has not used his immense power and influence, nor has Governor Landon spoken out save in terms of cautious general advocacy of tolerance and criticism of loyalty oaths. President Roosevelt never won for us an anti-lynching bill with teeth in it ... have won it; ... Landon has not specifically endorsed an adequate measure.

What Socialists Propose

We Socialists are committed to the preservation and increase of civil liberty, to the absolute vindication of the right of workers, employed and unemployed, to organize and bargain collectively in the cotton fields as well as in great industries. We are committed to Federal anti-lynching legislation, and to an end of racial discrimination in respect to relief, work, education and justice. But we do not believe that liberty can be made secure until we end the tyranny implicit in the control of the few over the resources and the jobs necessary to the life of us all.

For poverty in the midst of potential plenty, the profit system is even more obviously responsible than for war and tyranny. It is the amazing truth that in this campaign there has been no discussion of the conditions of true abundance from either of the major parties. Both Mr. Landon and Mr. Roosevelt explicitly express their devotion to the profit system. Mr. Landon believes that New Deal policies have retarded a process of "recovery" somehow miraculously inherent in the system. Mr. Roosevelt believes that he has rescued from stormy seas the nice old gentleman, capitalism, all except his silk hat. In general, Mr. Landon wants to do the impossible and restore the epoch of Coolidge plus a few vague bribes to farmers and the aged, as the price of their votes.

A child, who knows addition and subtraction (multiplication and division are unnecessary) would know that it is not possible to fulfill the Republican promises to balance the budget, reduce taxes, take the government out of business, and at the same time maintain relief through local agencies, but with Federal aid; through artificial subsidies give the farmers better prices than the New Deal has given them; and pay better pensions to the aged over 65 than the New Deal has offered them!

The Republican campaign has been on an incredibly low level of sincerity and intelligence. Even when its speakers have been right or half right in some of their criticisms, they have destroyed the effect by exaggeration and utter lack of a constructive program. If I refrain from further criticism of the Republican case it is because I am so firmly convinced that its ticket will be defeated by a large majority on Tuesday.

Discusses Union Party

It is fortunately unnecessary to discuss at length the program of the Lemke-Coughlin Union party. For various reasons, it and the curious combination of political messiahs and discredited politicians who lead it have been steadily losing ground since about the first of September, but the conditions, economic and psychological, which gave rise to it still continue and from them, unless we can show to the people a more excellent way, a Fascist demagogue may yet rise to dictatorial power.

Certain it is that the nearest approach to the Lemke-Coughlin program, with its promises of good wages to workers, good profits to farmers and little business men, all within the confines of the capitalist system, is to be found in the economic planks of the basic Nazi platform of 1920 in Germany.

The significant fact is the stampede to Roosevelt—a stampede which, for very different reasons, has been shared in or supported by such diverse groups as the Pendergast machine of Missouri, the Hague machine of New Jersey, Tammany Hall of New York—Jimmy Walker got the ovation here last night—the Kelly-Nash outfit of Chicago, Joe Robinson of Arkansas, Governor McNutt of Indiana, bankers like Giannini of California and even some members of the House of Morgan, the editors of THE NEW YORK TIMES, and most of the American Federation of Labor, both followers of John L. Lewis and of William Green. Even the Communists have given indirect support by their opportunistic program, their misleading slogan of democracy versus fascism and their concentration of attack on only one capitalist party.

Quite obviously some of these people are going to be disappointed. But Mr. Roosevelt permits them all to think it will be the other fellow until after the election. His last night's rhetorical speech in this hall answered no specific questions. The constitutional crisis is serious. It is a question whether there is any power, Federal or State, which can act in another emergency to assert power over our economic processes. Mr. Roosevelt has discussed no plans for dealing with the situation.

There are still 10,000,000 unemployed. Re-employment lags far behind business recovery and industrial payrolls behind both. Relief is unsatisfactory and the new Security Law is likely to alienate men from the whole idea of social security. Roosevelt discusses no program of relief, no amendments to the Security Law and no plan for redistributing income or avoiding new capitalist crises more catastrophic than through which we are passing.

I can understand, though I do not share the reasons why labor—most labor—supports him, but not the reasons why labor has demanded nothing of him. I am hopeful for a farmer-labor party of the right sort and rejoice in every bit of evidence that it is becoming desirable in the minds of workers, but when a labor committee or a labor party endorses only Democratic candidates, without even a stirring slogan of its own, it is James Aloysius Farley and not the workers who have won.

Holds System Has Failed

By no such victory shall we escape the fate of Italy or Germany when new war or catastrophe comes upon us. It is not the difference between Roosevelt and Landon that can save, any more than did the difference between Wilson and Hughes in 1916. It is not a few leaders but a system which has failed, the profit system to which Roosevelt professes allegiance. By its very nature it breeds strife. It rests on human exploitation and requires relative scarcity to maintain its price levels.

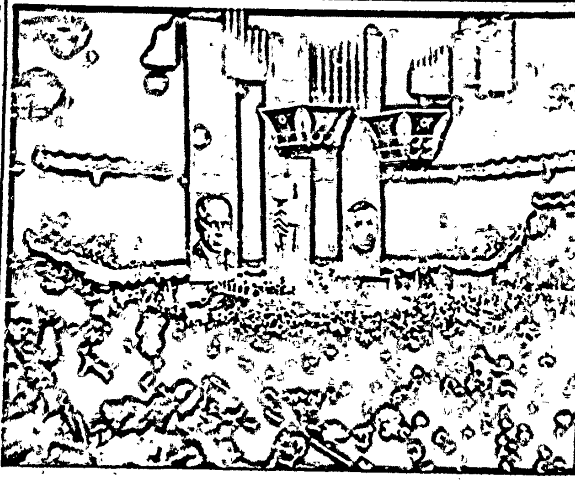
Our deliverance from war, tyranny and poverty demand the loyalties and institutions of a cooperative commonwealth. There [are] specific Socialist plans which [we] have repeatedly discussed, [con]stitutional revision, housing, [unemploy]ment relief, aid to education, [securi]ty for young and old and de[liverance] for the farmers. But [ou]r hope is not in these; it is in [th]e production and fair division [of] the great national income [wh]ich Socialism makes possible.

The immediate demand of Socialists is for socialism, and in education and organization for socialism lies our only hope of giving vision, and purpose, and direction, to those who seek the new day. It is this positive fight for socialism in which lies security against war and fascism. We want a society in which machines work for us and the satisfaction of our wants, not for the profit of absentee owners. And this is possible only when we own socially the great means of production and distribution.

You say that we shall not win? Probably not this year. But the best evidence that the people are awakening will be found in the size of the Socialist vote, and by it, as by no other yardstick the victors will measure the demand of the people for plenty, for peace and for freedom.

There is a greater argument than that. It is that the size of the Socialist vote and the enthusiasm for Socialist organization will serve to rally the hosts of the workers of hand and brain to win through their unions, their consumers' cooperatives and their party, the victory of a federation of cooperative commonwealths, wherein power-driven machinery shall be the only slave, and the great human family shall be released at last from the prison house of war, insecurity, exploitation and needless poverty. It is to help bring this day that I ask you to vote the Socialist ticket.

Vote it on the ballot, write it in in Ohio and other States where the right has been undemocratically denied; but vote Socialist, for plenty, peace, freedom and the brotherhood of man.



Times Wide World Photo.

SOCIALISTS HOLD RALLY IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

A general view of the gathering which heard Norman Thomas, the party's candidate for President, speak yesterday.

101 SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

Socialist Party NY Times 11/2/36

THOMAS SEES LABOR AS POLITICAL LOSER

Unions Got Nothing for Aid to Roosevelt, Socialist Tells 12,000 in the Garden.

ASKS BIG PROTEST VOTE

Admits Party Probably Will Not Win, but Says It Alone Espouses Workers' Cause.

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, closed his campaign yesterday afternoon at a final campaign rally of the party in Madison Square Garden.

More than 12,000 persons, who filled about half the seats, cheered their standard bearer enthusiastically throughout his address and staged a ten-minute demonstration when he was introduced. Mr. Thomas accused President Roosevelt of evasiveness on leading national questions and assailed liberals and organized labor for rallying to his cause.

Pointing out that the President's program has been supported alike by the labor followers of William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and John L. Lewis, chairman of the Committee on Industrial Organization, Mr. Thomas took organized labor to task for failing to demand assistance from the President for their support. This action, he said, proved that "it is James Aloysius Farley and not the workers who have won."

Assails Other Parties

Mr. Thomas also denounced the "opportunist" program of the Communists who, he said, were aiding President Roosevelt. He said the Republican campaign was conducted on "an incredibly low level of sincerity and intelligence"; and dismissed the Lemke-Coughlin Union party as an organization of "political messiahs and discredited politicians which has steadily been losing ground since about the first of September."

The Socialist party, he declared, was the only political party committed to the preservation and increase of civil liberties and the right of workers, both employed and unemployed, to organize and bargain collectively. He warned that under the capitalistic control of the two major parties it was inevitable that the nation would be drawn into war, pointing out that the New Deal administration, which has gone on record as being opposed to war, has "given us the greatest appropriations for the army and navy in the whole world."

He said the Socialist program was the only program that would lead to the ultimate solution of present-day problems. He admitted that the party "probably would not win this year," but added that "the best evidence that the people are awakening will be found in the size of the Socialist vote, and by it, as by no other yardstick, the victors will measure the demand of the people for plenty, for peace and for freedom."

George A. Nelson, candidate for Vice President, spoke to the meeting from Chicago over the National Broadcasting Company's blue network.

"We have allowed ourselves and our children to starve in the midst of plenty by allowing scheming and grafting monied men to exploit our natural resources for private gains," he said.

A socialistic society, he asserted, would make it possible to double present production and by proper distribution provide every family in the country with a minimum income of $2,500 to $4,000 a year.

Many Others Speak

Other speakers at the meeting included Dr. Harry W. Laidler, candidate for Governor of New York; Edna Blue and Frank R. Crosswaith, candidates for Representative-at-large, and Murray Baron, candidate for President of the Board of Alderman. Many other speakers, representing various divisions of the party, made one-minute speeches.

The meeting was opened at 2:30 o'clock by Jack Altman, secretary of the local Socialist party, who introduced Miss Blue, chairman of the meeting. After predicting that "we will live to see a Socialist nation in our time," Miss Blue presented the Rebel Arts Chorus who started the meeting with the singing of the "International" in which the audience, springing to their feet, joined in the chorus with clenched fists upraised.

With the crowd still standing, the chorus sang "The Worker's Memorial Hymn" in tribute to Socialist workers throughout the world "especially in war-torn Spain" who died in the last year.

Mr. Baron was the first scheduled speaker. He drew a round of applause when he assailed the "crowd of Tammany ward-heelers and their errand boys" who cheered former Mayor James J. Walker as he entered the Garden Saturday night to attend the Roosevelt rally.

"We Socialists," Mr. Baron said, "have a right to know whether the Democratic party thinks President Roosevelt is as good as Jimmy Walker or whether Jimmy, a discredited politician, is the equal of the President."

Referring to the American Labor party, which is supporting the two major Democratic candidates, Mr. Baron said: "The labor class of this city is moving in a direction which must be challenged." He added that the Socialist party was ready to join any farmer-labor movement but that such a step would not be taken until "labor is entirely independent of the two major political parties."

Mr. Crosswaith, who is also chairman of the Negro labor committee of the party, assailed both parties for "making the Negro the forgotten man for nearly four generations."

"For more than two generations, civilized and enlightened white Americans together with the Negro people have advocated a Federal anti-lynching law—and it was always the Republicans and Democrats who joined together to prevent its passage," he said. "The outrages perpetrated on the Negro people by the party of which Franklin D. Roosevelt is the leader makes his appeals for our vote an insulting mockery."

Laidler Reviews State Issues

Dr. Laidler, in summing up the party's campaign in the State, said both Governor Lehman and William F. Bleakley, his Republican opponent, had repeatedly refused to clarify their position on social and health insurance.

He asserted that his party stood for a comprehensive program to eradicate our slums within the next ten years; a comprehensive public works program with workers paid at prevailing union wages, revision of the taxation system; public ownership of public utilities; public distribution of milk crop insurance; the thirty-hour week, adequate relief for the unemployed; repeal of the teachers' loyalty oath, and complete academic freedom.

"The Socialist party and the Socialist program offers the only means to a better life today," he concluded. "But more than that, it offers the only road to a decent and happy existence tomorrow."

Among those who delivered one-minute addresses urging the election of Mr. Thomas were Professor Sidney Hook of New York University, Professor Coleman B. Cheney of Skidmore College, candidate for State Controller; David Lasser, national chariman of the Workers Alliance of America; Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, president of the League for Industrial Democracy; Joseph P. Lash, national executive secretary of the American Student Union; Ben Fischer, national secretary of the Young People's Socialist League; Max Delson, candidate for City Court Judge; Jacob Mirsky, president of the Bricklayer's Union, and Hyman Markel, president of District 9 of the Painter's Union.

When Mr. Thomas was introduced at 4:35 o'clock, hundreds of members of the Young People's Socialist League and the Red Falcons, whose members range in age from 8 to 14, marched down the center aisle bearing red flags and red paper plumes mounted on sticks.

After the singing and ten minutes of cheering Mr. Thomas stepped to the microphones and waved for quiet, shouting:

"I have the time to listen to you, but the people of the nation who are waiting for this radio address haven't. Thank you for your marvelous reception."

When he finished his address Mr. Thomas supervised a collection for funds with which to buy radio time tonight. After he had explained that "we must have money to buy radio time, because we don't want to be the only party without time tomorrow night," the audience raised $2,700 in cash and $800 in pledges. This will allow Mr. Thomas to make a nation-wide talk over the National Broadcasting network tonight at 10:30 o'clock and Dr. Laidler a State-wide address over Station WJZ at 7:15 P. M.

Vital Statistics Office Acts

MINNEAPOLIS, (AP).—Employes in the District Court clerk's office and the Vital Statistics Bureau, who generally only record the activity of others, created some on their own account the other day. In one day Phil Schmidt, assignment clerk, became the father of his ninth child; William Thomas, vault employe, was married, and Floyd Davis, deputy clerk, was banged up in an accident.

THOMAS AND RYAN SCORE CAPITALISM

Give Socialist and Catholic Reconstruction Programs at Newman Clubs' Symposium.

ATTACK UNLIMITED PROFIT

Both Declare Social Principles That Have Brought Misery Must Be Rejected.

Jan 14 '32

Programs of the Socialist party and of the Catholic faith for the reconstruction of the social order in America were presented yesterday afternoon at a symposium sponsored by the Newman Clubs, made up of Catholic students in non-catholic colleges and universities, in the McMillin Theatre at Columbia University. The Socialist viewpoint was presented by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President in 1932, and the Catholic viewpoint by the Rev. John A. Ryan, Professor of Economics in the Catholic University of America at Washington, D. C.

In another session, held yesterday evening in John Jay Hall, Amsterdam Avenue at 114th Street, Matthew Woll, vice president of the American Federation of Labor, enunciated the labor viewpoint, and Ivy Lee, publicist, discussed "The Virtues and Defects of Capitalism."

Declaring that the Socialist party stood for "freedom of religion and of private conscience," Mr. Thomas opened his address with the statement that "nothing in socialism is so completely the negation of Catholic principles as jingoistic nationalism," which, he said, has been the alternative in many countries. He deprecated the idea that "rigidity of dogma" is necessary in human relationships, and added that the problems facing America were peculiarly ethical problems, by virtue of the fact that they represented "the failure of purely human arrangements."

Finds Ethical Ideals Ignored.

He said history showed that when men, under a system of "private ownership for power and profit," had ample opportunity of fulfilling the highest ethical ideals, they had failed to do so. "The industrial revolution, which we may date from the invention of the steam engine, placed in men's hands the means of conquering poverty," Mr. Thomas declared, adding that the misuse of these instrument had resulted in the "abounding resources on the one hand, with pinching poverty and economic insecurity on the other."

Mr. Thomas declared that a "misery almost Chinese" prevailed in large industrialized cities, while on the Western plains corn was left piled in the fields for lack of granary space. In its failure to solve the problem of distribution, capitalism, he said, had been stripped even of its former "pragmatic justification."

Mr. Thomas criticized the Progressives in the Senate. He said they vacillated weakly between a desire to return to the simpler capitalism of Andrew Jackson's day and some vague form of compromise with Socialistic principles.

"But it is impossible," he declared, "to put back together again the old capitalism, as it existed in the early part of the century." On the other hand, he continued, the Socialist program could conquer poverty, "without the aid of any other inventions than those we already possess."

Holds We Helped Hitler to Rise.

He attacked Hitlerism as "a menace to everything decent," but added that no country was more responsible for the rise of Hitler in Germany than the United States, which "assented to the peace of Versailles" and in other ways helped to "wound the natural self-esteem of a nation." The people of the United States have "awakened too late to the necessity for some reasonable handling of the reparations problem," he added.

Mr. Thomas attacked the "fantastic pretensions" of science that resulted in the establishment of chairs of social science and of economics which never created new systems for a changing world but simply become "a kind of rationalization and interpretation of the existing order."

Dr. Ryan confined himself to an interpretation of the encyclical of Pope Pius XI on the reconstruction of the social order. He suggested "some form of partnership between labor and capital" in which labor might share in the management and profits of great corporations, and the consumer also might "have a voice." He decried the "unlimited profit idea," stressed the need for lower interest rates, and said that if capitalism is to be defined according to the principles it has followed hitherto, then it must be rejected." The speakers were introduced by Professor Parker T. Moon of the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University.

ST. PETERSBURG TIMES, MONDAY, JANUARY 20, 1936

THOMAS BLAMES GAMBLING RING FOR FLOGGINGS

Assails Tampa's Organized Vice; Hints Gov. Sholtz Condoned Violence

(Continued from Page 1)

of city hall Nov. 28, took them to the woods where they were beaten unmercifully, tarred and feathered. Shoemaker was unconscious in a Tampa hospital for more than a week, dying after amputation of a leg. Dec. 5.

The grand jury has indicted six Ku Klux Klansmen from Orlando, Tampa policemen and three alleged Klux Klux Klansmen from Tampa. They are to be tried next month for second degree murder, it was stated in St. Petersburg on war last night. Thomas, speaker on war last night, refused a few hours after he had arrived in St. Petersburg this afternoon to discuss the administration of Governor Sholtz. Shoemaker's death.

"I had other business at Boca Raton today," Thomas said to a dinner invitation. "But let me be candid—if I hadn't had any other business I would have invented something."

Thomas did not mention the incident in his address against the state, the speaker's charges against the Sholtz by name.

"With the Shoemaker's death caused by lynchers can see a state whose governor is concerned not about flogging but about Communism—a governor who almost asked the American Legion to take the law into its hands.

"The American Legion, to its credit, didn't do it."

Thomas said he would like to be here the governor was sincerely sorry about the Shoemaker incident.

"I tell Sholtz himself that the cheerful habit of articles in condoning or approving this sort of violence leads the way to this very danger of Communism about which he speaks."

Flays Sholtz at Whitaker

The speaker had a special dart for Pat C. Whitaker, former state senator, mentioned as a candidate for governor and now defending the policemen accused in Shoemaker's death.

"This is an unhappy role," Thomas said. "For that illustrious director of civic virtues, Pat Whitaker, to have been other than an defender of the flogger, "that's not the way to further one's gubernatorial ambitions—even in Tampa."

Thomas sailed into the election conditions in Tampa mentioning 600 city policemen, 600 county patrolmen and three companies of militia needed at the polls on one recent occasion.

"And you paid one recent occasion," he shouted. "Tampa's pretty rank, poor fools there about stealing elections?

Compares Methods to Hitler

Thomas displayed a page from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch in the center was a special story from Tampa about the Shoemaker case headed "Police Murder in Florida." Along side was an article by Emil Ludwig containing an exposé of Hitler terrorism.

"I do not know," the speaker continued, "if the editor was displaying a grim sense of humor by putting side by side stories of what happened in Germany and what is happening in Tampa and what is happening in Germany."

Thomas paid tribute to Shoemaker. "I was a friend of Joseph Shoemaker. I knew the warmth of his heart. I knew him in Vermont where he was a member of the Socialist party.

"I knew him when he separated himself from the Socialist party—not to support Communism, but to support Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

Thomas spoke for 18 minutes to a prosthetic enthusiastic crowd. His words frequently were interrupted by cheers and shouts.

A resolve to Gov. Sholtz was taken and the police drew back and blessed.

The Rev. Walter Metcalf, head of the committee that organized the meeting today, presided.

He declared: "Our purpose is not vindictive. We seek more than the punishment of the little fellows. We also seek the leaders on the higher-ups."

He said that "we must eradicate the adult mind of Tampa that bitters things. Now we must be assured such things shall not happen again."

Metcalf said 97 per cent of the people "demand a better Tampa" and that:

"No set of men shall ever be permitted to enforce their miserable 100 per cent Americanism upon men who differ with their own political creed."

Dr. Royal R. France of Rollins College said that:

"To the forces of light in America this great gathering is a warning; to the forces of darkness it is a warning."

He was wildly cheered when he shouted:

"Despite the unspeakable Ku Klux Klan; despite the lawless policemen of Tampa, democracy still lives in Florida."

From Dr. Hamilton Holt, president of Rollins came a letter saying in part:

"I especially regret that I cannot be present at this meeting for I would add my own protest to yours against murder by mob violence. Mob murder is as cowardly as it is barbarous. The mob not only outrages its victim, it outrages the state whose law it flouts."

Other similar sentiments were read from the Rt. Rev. John D. Wing, Bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Florida, the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, of the Community church, New York, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick of Riverside church, New York, Dr. Ladd M. Spivey, president of Southern colleges, Lakeland, and others.

Among those on the platform from St. Petersburg were Frank McCarthy, member of the Socialist party, executive committee for Florida, Charlton Wright, the Rev. Dr. George Gillmour, the Rev. L. A. Gedge, Pat McMasters and C. C. Shaver.

Webb's Shoppe
MONDAY
Sylco Steak
Fresh
Cole
Hot C
Dawn Co
Vertable
WE
CUT RATE D
128 Ninth
ENJOY GOOD FO
STEAM H
On
CAFE

[illegible] one of the program and [illegible] Central [illegible] Washington [illegible] Kermit Roosevelt, scheduled to speak the late President Roosevelt, Glen Cove, Long Island, hospital in [illegible] Cove, Long Island, hospital in [illegible] said she was not Hospital [illegible] however, and she was not [illegible] instead. [illegible] suffered several fractures [illegible] a [illegible] fell at her home in Sea [illegible]

16 DROWN IN STORM

(Continued from Page 1)

FILLINGTON, N. Y., Jan. 19.—Sixteen persons were drowned during a violent motor launch disaster during a violent storm in the Samoan Islands. The storm destroyed 75 per cent of the Samoan crop in the islands.

101 | SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

10/12/31

THOMAS DEPLORES APATHY OF PUBLIC

Indifference and Cynicism Balk Civic Reform, Socialist Says In Opening Campaign.

AVERS 'PLUNDERERS' RULE

Panken and Hillquit, Speaking at Town Hall Meeting, Attack the Judiciary and Hoover Plan.

Public indifference to municipal corruption and "justifiable cynicism" concerning the honesty of the "bi-partisan band of plunderers who rule New York" form an effective barrier to social progress and civic betterment, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President of the Borough of Manhattan, charged yesterday at Town Hall at a mass meeting opening his campaign.

Other speakers at the meeting, which was attended by more than 1,500 persons, were Jacob Panken and Morris Hillquit, Socialist candidates for the Supreme Court in the Manhattan and Bronx districts, and Miss Helen Pickenbach, Socialist candidate for Register of New York County.

Mr. Panken and Mr. Hillquit attacked the sitting judiciary, Mr. Panken charging that one of a judge's duties was to be present at Democratic political clubs to guard against interference with the gambling carried on there with the sanction of the district leaders.

"At the very moment when the breakdown of the old economic order, the moral bankruptcy of the economic racket which the profit system is by its very nature, is most apparent," said Mr. Thomas, "there is also the utmost justifiable cynicism about the honesty and capacity of all our governmental agencies, and especially of the bipartisan band of plunderers who rule New York. The great masses, deprived of Socialist hope and vision, with hearts filled with cynicism or despair, docilely vote for those who rob them in the hope that the robbers may throw them a few bones. They know that the Republican machine is Tammany's weaker brother and ally."

Resentment Vital to Reform.

Although, said Mr. Thomas, there is a disposition to say that governmental corruption is a natural expression of a sick economic order, the public should not be indifferent to corruption, since there is no chance of good government under any social order unless the workers can be aroused from their cynicism to passionate resentment of their exploitation.

"A City Administration which, according to its own Controller, has allowed $191,000,000 of contracts to freeze so that no work is done on them, is a City Administration directly responsible for keeping about 100,000 men in needless idleness in the midst of depression," Mr. Thomas declared. "All the prostitution of justice, all the sale of permits and privilege, all the judicial deals, all the salary grabs for fat politicians, all the magic tin boxes which multiply money for a Sheriff, take toll not merely of the immediate interests of the men, women and children of New York, but also of the hopes we have for the city we might build."

Declares Some Unions 'Tainted.'

In concluding, Mr. Thomas said that the labor unions as well as City Hall are "tainted by the racketeering spirit" and stated definitely that he wanted no such labor support.

"We want once and for all to dissolve the evil alliance which exists in New York between the underworld, the police, some of the judicial machinery, the old party politicians and certain labor union machines," he declared.

In addition to attacking the local judicial system, Mr. Panken and Mr. Hillquit took the occasion to denounce President Hoover's plan to aid the banks. Both charged that, whereas the President had made no attempt to aid the unemployed, he was eager to answer the bankers' first call for assistance.

"In New York City," said Mr. Panken, "we have the best judges that money can buy, or is it that political machinations can provide for us?"

4/12/31

THOMAS URGES "HUNGER LOAN" FOR JOBLESS

Socialist Leader Favors $500,000,000 Fund For Immediate Aid

SPEAKS AT HOPKINS LIBERAL PARLEY

Flays Progressive Senators For Zeal To Punish Hoover

A special session of Congress to appropriate $500,000,000 for immediate relief among the unemployed and to float a $3,000,000,000 "hunger loan" was advocated last night by Norman Thomas.

The Socialist leader, who ran for the Presidency in 1928, was one of three speakers at the night session of the third annual intercollegiate liberal conference held at Levering Hall, Johns Hopkins University, and attended by more than one hundred white and Negro students from colleges throughout the East.

Calls Socialization Solution

Mr. Thomas spoke on Socialization as a Solution to Unemployment, and he was followed by Dr. Isador Lubin, of the Brookings Institute and Rabbi Edward L. Israel, chairman, Municipal Commission on Employment Stabilization.

The progressive Senators in Washington were attacked by Mr. Thomas for their zeal to punish President Hoover rather than accept a humanitarian point of view in the face of the unemployment crisis. Mr. Thomas also criticized the President for his lack of initiative in furnishing human relief, terming the present situation a "shame and a tragedy."

Assails Taxes For "Waste"

It is not a disgrace, Mr. Thomas asserted, to raise taxes to provide for the waste in government but it apparently is not within the province of that government to raise taxes for the relief of the unemployed, who are not even receiving as much aid from the hands of the Federal Government as is extended to the sufferers in Nicaragua.

Mr. Thomas spoke of the ultimate socialization of industry but the principal portion of his address was on the weapons which are at hand to meet the unemployment situation and attempt to effect a remedy.

Urges Shorter Hours

In that respect he agreed with Dr. Harry W. Laidler, who, in the morning session of the conference, asserted that industry and government must greatly reduce hours of labor, increase the purchasing power of the workers, install systems of unemployment insurance and secure a fundamental redistribution of income and wealth.

Mr. Thomas asserted, in discussing technical unemployment, that the great lesson to be learned was not to retard the use or development of machinery, but to control the machine so that it will work to the betterment and not to the detriment of the worker.

Cites Idle Insurance

Dr. Lubin, who spoke on unemployment insurance, traced the growth of the two major systems now in operation in England and Germany and outlined the method of unemployment insurance used by twelve large industries in the United States.

The first country to introduce unemployment insurance, he said, was England, where the system went into effect in 1912. There the contributors to the insurance fund include employer, employe and the state, while in Germany only the worker and employer are involved in the fund.

Fund In Debt To State

Due to the widespread unemployment in Germany, however, the unemployment insurance fund is greatly in debt to the State. Approximately 12,000,000 are benefiting from unemployment insurance in England, the economist said.

Rabbi Israel told of the various stabilization projects and other "cures and alleged cures." His speech, as well as the others, was broadcast over Station WCBM.

Hits At Political Parties

The Republican and Democratic parties were criticized by Dr. Laidler for their lack of leadership in solving the problem of unemployment. The speaker favored a new political alignment. The Socialist party, he believes, more nearly than any other, is presenting a program which will deal fundamentally with the subject.

In discussing unemployment, Dr. Laidler said that some 2,000,000 workers had been displaced from industry by the machine since the war, and that insecurity among American industry was increasing steadily as a result of mechanization and other social changes.

Others Give Addresses

Dr. George E. Barnett, department of economics, Johns Hopkins University, spoke on basic, seasonal and cyclical unemployment. Charles W. Ervin, associate editor of the Advance, discussed the profit motive as a cause of unemployment.

At the afternoon session Miss Anna D. Ward, head of the Family Welfare Association, spoke on social consequences of unemployment and Jay Lovestone, editor of the Revolutionary Age, a leader in one faction of the Communist party, spoke on the economic consequences of unemployment.

To Address University Club

The University Club field night will be held at 8 P. M. Friday when Dr. Malcolm Wallace, University of Toronto, will speak on Education and Democracy.

11/1932

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RAIL SOCIALIZATION IS URGED BY THOMAS

Government Ownership Will Come Soon, but at Inflated Valuations, He Predicts.

CALLS ROADS "SICK" NOW

Would Act at Once to Avert New Wage Reduction by Cutting Bond Interest in Two.

A program for the socialization of the railroads to solve the problem of the nation's carriers was outlined last night in a campaign address at James Madison High School, in Brooklyn by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President.

Mr. Thomas prefaced his program by the prediction that the country might expect the roads to go into government ownership soon, but at absurdly inflated valuations, which would put a heavy burden upon public operation.

As a preliminary step to complete socialization of the railroads, Mr. Thomas foresaw a period of government ownership to be developed later into a system of collective ownership with workers' participation in their management.

He pointed out, however, that no Socialist government called upon to take over the railroads would consent to be "held up" by high prices for properties "made bankrupt by unsound financial and operating practices."

Says Federal Loans Saved Roads.

"The only reason the railroads at present are not going into receivers' hands by scores is the extensive loans made to them by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation," he said, adding that these loans never would be repaid. As a way to finance the socialization program, he mentioned a capital levy.

Mr. Thomas contended that such a program would prove inevitable because railroad regulation had demonstrated itself to be a failure, while the financial condition of the roads was beyond repair. As evidence of this he cited, among other things, the cut in wages forced upon the railroad workers and the prospect of an additional cut of 20 per cent.

"The railroads are sick because of general capitalist collapse," he continued. "They are also sick from some of their own follies, such as overcapitalization, which even regulation has not prevented, or the competition which government ownership would have avoided. I mean competition by the railroads. As for competition with buses, that has been unduly magnified in view of the fact that many of the bus lines are owned by the railroads."

Neither President Hoover nor Governor Roosevelt had promised to protect the railway workers against another cut in wages, Mr. Thomas said, pointing out that these workers already had suffered a loss of $1,200,000,000 a year through lay-offs and wage cuts.

"Among Governor Roosevelt's many instances vagaries nothing is much worse than his railroad program," Mr. Thomas said. "Its principal feature was that he would make railroad ownerships cheaper, which as a form of comfort has Job's friends beaten several different ways."

Pending further action on the larger aspects of the railroad question and as a means of averting another wage cut Mr. Thomas proposed that "before another dollar is cut from the wages of a man who invests his life in the railroads, the bondholders, who invest only their money, must take a cut."

Would Halve Bond Interest.

He suggested that interest payments "be cut in half to correspond with the enormous wage loss already suffered by the workers and the proceeds, $250,000,000, be used not to increase dividends but to put thousands of the unemployed railroad workers back on the job."

"If the railroads had been publicly owned and operated since 1923," Mr. Thomas said, "the capital return even under capitalism would have been limited to 4 per cent, and this would have yielded more than $4,800,000,000 to retire approximately 41 per cent of the outstanding debt. This would have reduced current interest charges $300,000,000 annually. Our past mistakes have cost us dearly. From the mistakes that have been made in the history of the railroads we can learn to avoid errors in the socialization of the United States when we get the power to put our program into effect. The Socialist program is complete. It is not a piecemeal, haphazard assortment of economic mustard plasters. It is an integrated, comprehensive plan for the immediate checking of this creeping economic paralysis which at first was advertised by Hoover to last only sixty days, and at the end of three years has the spokesman of capitalism whipped and helpless, unable to suggest any means of ending it, any insurance against its recurrence."

In the afternoon Mr. Thomas addressed an audience of Negroes at an open-air meeting in Harlem. He spoke from a truck equipped with amplifiers parked at the corner of 135th Street and Seventh Avenue. Turning to subjects of particular interest to Negroes, he said the Socialist party was pledged to legal, economic, political and social equality for their race. He stressed especially the need for improved housing conditions among Negroes.

He was introduced by Frank Crosswaith, a Negro and Socialist candidate for Congress, as "the one completely civilized American running for President of the United States."

7/5/31

Thomas Assails Church at Rally Of Its Workers

Censures Failure to Protect Macintosh Decision and Acquiescence in Warfare

Holds Socialists Superior

Speaker Arouses Opposition in Union Seminary Talk

A brief outburst of protest arose yesterday morning at the Union Theological Seminary's eleventh annual religious conference when Norman Thomas informed the clergymen that the Church had made virtually no advance in the last ten years, and that "a great number of the ministers in this city are hopelessly illiterate."

Denouncing the nationalistic attitude of many American churches, Mr. Thomas blamed preachers for not protesting sufficiently against the recent decision of the Supreme Court with regard to the naturalization of Professor Douglas Clyde Macintosh and Miss Marie Bland.

"Jimmy Walker gave the keys of the city to Einstein," Mr. Thomas continued, "yet, according to the ruling of the United States Supreme Court, Einstein could not receive citizenship papers because of his pacifistic beliefs."

Holds Church Disgraced

"The Church has disgraced itself to its very foundations by accepting war. Though clergymen have decried war as [illegible], nevertheless, when the next war arrives, the churches will undoubtedly turn about and bless it as they have always done in the past. The Church has blessed every war ever declared, despite the fact that it is a complete and supreme negation of Christian ethics. It is strange that mankind doesn't revolt against the Church when it commits acts of this nature."

Indignation was obviously increasing while Mr. Thomas made these statements and as he paused momentarily a mild flurry of protest broke out. Several clergymen retorted sharply, but one question rang out above the others: "What has Socialism done? You say the Church has done nothing to suppress warfare as an instrument of international policy. What then has Socialism accomplished?"

Smiling at the outburst, Mr. Thomas replied: "The Socialist Party has done far more than the churches. For one thing there has always been a greater number of conscientious objectors in the Socialist Party than in the church. After all socialism embodies the same psychological principles as religion, though churches have done far less for humanity."

Cites Southern Lynchings

"I shall go even further by saying that in places where the churches are strongest, intolerance and racial discriminations flourish the most. Consider, for example, our Southern States, where you find many churches, and also many lynchings. Of course there are some liberal minded and courageous ministers who are not afraid to speak out. Preachers in this respect are better than lawyers, and accordingly many promising declarations have come from the pulpit. But on the whole the only progress made by the church has been on paper. Indeed I am very skeptical as to whether the church has ever had anything to do with the world's advance. What has been done is probably due to the great men who have been connected with the church and not to that institution itself."

Turning to the future and his fears for another war, Mr. Thomas referred briefly to the flyers who just circumnavigated the globe. "Today the great celebration in honor of Post and Gatty is deserved," he said, "for their trip was a friendly affair. But there is also a minister aspect, for imagine what this development of flying machinery means to the waging of a future war."

Mr. Thomas denounced present day nationalism as one of the most obsolete religions the world has ever seen. "Patriotic fervor is all right as long as it is not exalted above other things," he continued, "but usually patriotism leads to spite, hatred and intolerance. This holds true in the church as well. During the war I was a conscientious objector, and as such I found it far easier to deal with the War Department than with the churches, which almost without exception rebuffed me for my pacifistic ideals."

Report on Social Ideals

The second report of the symposium on social ideals was made public by the Rev. Gaylord S. White, dean of students at the seminary. Dealing with "The Church and Race Relations" the report said in part:

"The great hope of the Christian church is that it offers a place where experiments and adjustments can be made. Group behavior patterns seem to be slowly emerging as race relations are carefully studied. This is one of the hopeful aspects of the whole matter even though the mass yields its prejudices slowly there should be free and glad co-operation between individuals and groups of different races and religions."

Other speakers at the conference were the Rev. H. P. Van Dusen, of Union Theological Seminary, and the Rev. Dr. J. Newton Davies, of Drew University.

THOMAS ASKS HEARING ON JOB RELIEF PLANS

Tells Walker City Employment Program Falls Far Short of Meeting Needs. 6/4/31

A full hearing on the program of unemployment relief advocated by the Socialist party and the Emergency Conference on Unemployment was requested yesterday by Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, in a letter to Mayor Walker which was transmitted to the Board of Estimate.

Mr. Thomas recalled that at the hearing before the Board of Estimate on April 30 Mayor Walker announced it would be in order to ask for the fuller hearing later. It was evident, declared Mr. Thomas, that the policy of employing men who had voted for two previous years was not adequate, as the city could not employ more than 13,000 men and had stopped registering when 18,500 applicants had been listed.

"The Attorney General's office has written an opinion to the effect that Chapter 604 of the law of 1918, the so-called Lusk law, gives the city power to grant outdoor relief to the unemployed," Mr. Thomas continued. "The city has adopted this policy for unemployed veterans. Why not for other employes as well?

"The figures of employment submitted by Welfare Commissioner Taylor, while praiseworthy, fall short by about 10,000 of the number of men put to work under the Prosser committee at its height. There is no reason to think that the need has diminished by 10,000. Moreover, the Prosser committee's work was woefully inadequate. The relief of warmer weather hardly compensates for the cumulative effect of unemployment month by month."

Several hundred men gathered at the Leonard and Lafayette Street entrance of the Department of Welfare yesterday while a delegation protested to officials against the discontinuance of the noonday meal at the Municipal Lodging House and against being forced to work for breakfast and supper.

HARTFORD TURNS OUT TO HEAR THOMAS

10/31/32

Audience Overflowing Bushnell Auditorium Includes Professors and Clergymen.

SPEAKERS ASSAIL BINGHAM

Socialist Candidate Appeals to Church People to Vote for Change in Political System.

Special to The New York Times.

HARTFORD, Oct. 30.—Norman Thomas and his Socialist party supporters staged the greatest political rally held at the Bushnell Memorial this afternoon. It was attended by many college professors, clergymen and civic leaders. They were crowded out when the doors were closed under the Fire Department regulations, but were taken to the stage where they stood during the speeches of Mr. Thomas and other Socialist candidates.

Every person present paid 25 cents admission and many also contributed to a collection taken up during the meeting.

The chairman was the Rev. Charles M. [illegible] of the [illegible] church, who [illegible] to vote for [illegible], adding:

"We stand first as Christian citizens and then as ministers of the gospel."

The record of Senator Bingham, running for re-election on the Republican ticket, was attacked by Mr. Thomas and other speakers.

"Along with Reed Smoot of Utah, Bingham is the best Senator Wall Street ever had, and Wall Street is not going to have him much longer," Mr. Thomas declared.

"We are approaching election day, and if we make the wrong choice we will drift further toward the rapids," Mr. Thomas continued. "I ask the good church people of Hartford who are here today and who object to ministers working in politics, what do you think of this civilization of ours and what do you propose to do about it? The rule of capitalism is the negation of the Golden Rule. How many deacons and elders know it is now practical to be brotherly and Christianlike? How do they expect to get along without new ideals and new hopes?

"Hoover says 'sit tight and I'll pull you through'; Roosevelt says 'I think it is going to be better for I have a complete plan for unemployment.'

"Show me, you deacons who object to ministers getting into politics, how you will get rid of the unemployment problem with the aid of either of the old parties. You can make the labor saving machine your slave, but it will require a new plan, new visions and new ideals. The objective should be 'not my prosperity but our prosperity.'

"Out West the farmers are burning wheat because they can't buy coal, and in Pennsylvania the miners say 'would to God that we could eat coal.' Misery is present in the midst of abundance which has been chained by capitalism. This abundance must be organized and distributed.

"Will you on election day choose between tweedledum and tweedledee, or because you voted the wrong ticket four years ago, will you in revenge vote the other way this year? Or will you vote for new ideals and a new vision. If you do, victory is not far off for us and that vote will come new [illegible] to press forward to [illegible]."

Devere Allen, Socialist candidate for the Senate, attacked Senator Bingham as one who was reprimanded by the Senate for conduct [illegible] to morals and [illegible] working with [illegible] favorable to Connecticut manufacturers."

THOMAS IN CLASH ON DR. WALKER FEES

Socialist Storms Out of Room Scoring Grievance Committee as Day's Hearing Ends.

DEFENDS CHARGES IN BOOK

Insists Chance of Revoking Licenses of Doctors Taking Splits is Remote Under Tammany.

NORMAN THOMAS NOTIFIED

Socialists' Presidential Nominees Given Formal Notice. 6/13

NEW YORK, June 13 (AP).—Norman Thomas of New York and James H. Maurer, Reading, Pa., were notified formally at a meeting of New York Socialists last night that they had been selected as that party's candidates for President and Vice President, respectively, of the United States.

Louis Waldman, New York chairman, said differences within the party ranks had been smoothed over.

THOMAS STRESSES SOCIALIST 'CLARITY'

Assails 'Compromises' and 'Irresponsible' Policies of Rival Parties.

9/15/32

RESTATES VIEW ON BONUS

N.Y. Times

Candidate Speaks After Groups From Colleges Organize Clubs to Aid Them.

The "definite program" offered by the Socialist Party, in its national, State and city platforms, was con...

1211/30

LOST AND FOUND

MUNICIPAL HOUSING URGED BY THOMAS

Socialist Proposes City-Owned Apartments at Cost as Only Way to Abolish Slums.

CRITICIZES WALKER'S PLAN

Calls Chrystie-Forsyth Project "Perennial" Housing at Its Worst at Women's Conference.

NORMAN THOMAS HELD AS PICKET

1931
Sept. 3

PATERSON, N. J., Sept. 3 (U.P.)—Norman Thomas, former clergyman and Socialist candidate for President in 1928, was one of 46 persons arrested today for picketing in a strike of silk mill workers.

All were charged with unlawful assembly and released in $15 bail each, pending another hearing. The judge previously had ruled there should be no picketing in front of the John Hand silk mill where Thomas was arrested.

Others arrested included the Rev. Bradford Young of the Holy Trinity Church of New York; Oscar Kaabel, social secretary of the Episcopal diocese of Long Island, and A. J. Muste, dean of the Brookwood Labor College.

MEETING LISTS TALK BY NORMAN THOMAS

1928 Socialist Standard Bearer to Address Forum of Six Organizations Here.

THOMAS TALKS TONIGHT

Inquirendo Club to Hear Socialist Candidate.

Norman Thomas, Socialist presidential candidate, will be speaker here this evening on "The Breakdown of Capitalism" before the Inquirendo at the home of Fred S. Schow, 3701 Chesapeake street.

In calling the meeting, Joseph C. Fehr, president of the Inquirendo, announced the appointment of Walker O. Mayle, local attorney, as chairman of the Committee on Program and Arrangements for the third annual Inquirendo dinner, to be held at the Mayflower Hotel May 18.

17, 2

101 SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

101 SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

Socialist Party 1936

Telephone District 7000

Thomas Says Moscow Reds Back Roosevelt

Thomas ADMITS OBEY MOSCOW, SOCIALIST ASSERTS

Communists are actively supporting President Roosevelt for reelection, Norman Thomas, Socialist presidential candidate, flatly declared here yesterday.

This Communist support is directed from Moscow, Thomas asserted. The Socialist leader said:

"There has been a bewildering change in the attitude of the Communists towards Roosevelt in the last two years. There is a new attitude.

REDS IN CAMPAIGN

"Support is a strong word, but the Communists are giving Roosevelt a left-handed but active support. They are in the campaign. We don't have to prove it through secret documents. It's just so."

Thomas made this statement amplifying his views on Communism and the presidential campaign after addressing 300 members of the National Press Club at luncheon.

The former clergyman declared his opposition to the international aspect of communism, in which Moscow seeks to influence other countries to adopt communism for the benefit of Russia.

Answers Query

It was in answer to questions that Thomas turned to his attack on communism after denouncing the "capitalistic" theories of both the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates.

Asked the difference between communism and socialism, Thomas said:

"My main quarrel with communism is that it denies all civil rights. I am opposed to its violence and assassinations."

Thomas said two years ago the Communists had fought Roosevelt but now they had changed and had become more adroit by supporting him.

Not Concerned

The Socialist leader declared:

"I am not concerned in the metamorphosis of Earl Browder, Communist candidate for President, who would have you vote for him and at the same time not defeat Roosevelt."

Thomas decried the "so-called 'blood purge'" in Russia following the Kirov murder, in which several score persons were reported slain, and the murder convictions of another large group following the Zinoviev assassination.

Emphasizing the swing of the Communists toward Roosevelt, Thomas said the Communist organ in America, the Daily Worker, "is awkwardly and shyly hailing Roosevelt."

Quit Party

Thomas also revealed that several hundred Socialists have resigned from his party to support Roosevelt, adding:

"That goes to show that even Socialists can have a relapse."

Questioned as to who would win the presidential election, Thomas replied:

"I should be most surprised if Roosevelt did not win handily, but then what?"

Thomas flayed Roosevelt, Governor Alfred M. Landon, the Republican candidate, Representative Lemke of North Dakota, and the Townsendites, Coughlinites and followers of Gerald L. K. Smith.

Attacks Roosevelt

Asserting that Roosevelt had not been explicit about his future plans, Thomas said:

"Really there is not much left of the old New Deal, except atmosphere. We are having some temporary recovery but we will learn that we can't spend ourselves out of depressions."

Thomas branded the Roosevelt relief program as "extravagant and badly organized" and declared the new farm program a confession of failure of the old program.

Thomas said the Roosevelt legislative program has been "makeshift" and most of it had been outlawed by the Supreme Court.

NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist, declared in a Washington speech that Moscow is directing the Communists' support of President Roosevelt in the national campaign. International News Photo.

and that the Administration now was operating on:

"Faith, hope and charity, mostly charity taken away from taxpayers.

"It is just coasting along. Within a few years a country burdened with debt, with production increasing more rapidly than wages, we are headed for a new and catastrophic depression."

ERA OF CAPITALISM

Thomas said the "era of capitalism" had passed throughout the world, and America was faced with a choice of a socialistic cooperative commonwealth or fascism. He predicted if the latter came a "demagogue" would be succeeded by a dictator.

Asserting that he was opposed to the communistic form of government as sponsored by Moscow, Thomas said he could not tolerate the "violence" and "bureaucratic" phases of communism, adding:

"I do not believe in control from the top down. Communism grants no civil liberty and its interests are the interests of one nation, Russia, against the world."

Norman Thomas Is Given Auditorium for Speech

By United Press

WOOSTER, O.—Barred from speaking in any building on the campus of Wooster College, a Presbyterian institution, Norman Thomas, noted Socialist, will deliver an address tonight in the auditorium of Wooster High School.

The controversy over Thomas was definitely ended when the Board of Education, reversing its previous stand, decided that he might use the school auditorium.

Arrangements for the speech were made by the Congressional Club, a student organization at the college. College officials, however, intervened and denied Thomas the privilege of speaking on the college grounds.

BIASED COURTS SEEN BY NORMAN THOMAS

Virginia Institute Hears Carolina Strike Cases Cited as Examples.

HITS AT ADMINISTRATION

1930

Charlottesville, Va., Aug. 13 (AP).—Norman Thomas, executive director of the League of Industrial Democracy, addressing the Virginia Institute of Public Affairs here tonight, said Herbert Hoover talked of rugged individualism in his campaign, but that rugged individualism had not been the keynote of his administration.

The former Socialist presidential candidate said: "The farmers got the dubious benefit of the Farm Relief Board, business men were spared the full shock of panic by the Federal reserve banking system, and the unholy alliance of well-to-do and the rich got a 1 per cent reduction in income taxes.

Sees Unemployed Hurt.

"Only the miserable army of the unemployed, usually more or less slaves to the machine and its owners when they work, have been rugged individualists. They had to be or die. . . .

"The chaotic, ill-organized, profit-seeking collectivism of America gives to those guilty of the crime of poverty or the misfortune of being factory hands not even the same justice it gives the rich and privileged."

Mr. Thomas mentioned the Sacco and Vanzetti case, the Centralia case, and said: "Whatever one may say of Carolina justice in labor cases arising out of Gastonia and Marion strikes, there is no explanation in terms of justice, liberty, or respect for individuals, to account for the relentless conviction not only of the Gastonia strikers concerned in a brawl in which a police chief lost his life, but also of Marion workers for minor offenses, while those guilty of cold-blooded murder of a woman, of kidnapping and flogging and of shooting at workers at Marion's factory gates went scot free."

This, he said, was a criticism, not of Carolina justice so much as of American justice.

Why He Is a Socialist.

He said he was not a prohibitionist because of the "demonstrated failure of prohibition to do more good than harm."

He is a Socialist, he said, because socialism, as he understood it, encouraged seeking a larger measure of freedom in the full understanding that the condition of that freedom is the capacity to cooperate for the common good, using and improving the forms of democracy in the effort.

His address tonight followed upon a prohibition clash before the institute today, when Ernest W. Cherrington, general secretary of the World League Against Alcoholism, and Mrs. Marion Booth Kelly, a member of the New York State advisory council of the women's organization for national prohibition reform, debated the prohibition question.

THOMAS SEES LAW CRIMINALS' RACKET

N.Y. Times Nov/33

In Preface to New Book, He Blames the Shysters for Conditions in Profession.

FINDS PUBLIC DISTRUSTFUL

But Crooked Lawyers Meet a Demand, He Says—Deplores Double Standard of Justice.

"A severe criticism of the legal profession, ... [illegible]

THOMAS CRITICIZES 'MACHINE' TEACHING

Asserts Our Schools Have Been "Sterilized" by Removal of Controversial Subjects.

GUIDE TO TRUTH STRESSED

Influence of Radio and Movies Analyzed at Conference by Dr. Eversull of Yale.

Education to meet a changing social order and to fit a future cooperative commonwealth was impressed upon 1,300 teachers yesterday at the annual region conference of the Progressive Education Association in the Hotel Pennsylvania.

Speaking on the function of education in creating "The Good Society," Norman Thomas told the gathering that hope for a better state lay in a federation of cooperative commonwealths, "and to help the next generation to understand this is the outstanding function of the true teacher." He continued:

"Indeed, it can best be achieved by the effort to teach the next generation to think, which task is not in the least incompatible with pointing out to them the subjects on which they must think if their generation is to escape disaster.

Education and Society Linked.

"Education and the good society therefore cannot be separated sharply as certain philosophers have tried to distinguish between cause and effect, the means and the end. They must be bound together in one process of life. It has been the tragedy of our American education that it has so nearly forgotten that fact.

"Because we have wanted to save our schools or our jobs in our schools, we have sterilized them by eliminating from them what the public regards as controversial matter, and this in an age when the very stuff of life is controversial. We have not even sought to present to the next generation a fair statement of facts on the interpretation of which men may legitimately differ. We wonder that, as a result, our educational system has become a kind of machine.

"The educator cannot even do what he wants with his school unless he dares to think and dream and plan in terms of the good society, the fellowship of free men, the cooperative commonwealth in which every able-bodied adult is a worker, proud of his part in keeping the world going, secure in his work and in his leisure, the sharer of an abundance which he helps to create."

In a discussion panel which followed his address Mr. Thomas said the teachers should cease being "merely associations, even if they have 'programs' of [illegible]," and have economic organizations allied to other economic interests to assure support of an educational system.

Dr. Frank Eversull of Yale University spoke of the influence of radios, movies and propaganda on youth, and asserted that it was vital for the teacher to know "what is true." Dr. Sidney Hook of New York University said he did not believe that teachers feared to teach the truth and felt they were teaching what they believed to be the truth. Dr. Harry A. Overstreet of City College presided.

Visualization Held Vital.

"The school is confronted not so much with helping children to see the problems that lie ahead and the correct solutions of them, but rather with helping children visualize problems, learn how to anticipate new problems and how to attack them when a solution is necessary," J. Cayce Morrison, Assistant Commissioner of Elementary Education, State Education Department, said at another session.

"There are dangers, to be sure, in training children to live by the rule of tested thought, but there is no other way if we are to believe that man has the capacity for improving his own destiny through taking thought as to the future.

"Under the pressure of government, men who have worshiped long years at the shrine of rugged individualism are finding themselves confronted with the necessity of dealing with collective bargaining.

"Only through the development of the creative capacities of the individual can we hope to offset the depressing effects of a machine civilization. The writing of poetry, the composing of music, the expression of one's feeling through color and design, the construction of material things—all these in our generation are as fundamental to the well-rounded education of the individual and of society as are reading, writing and arithmetic."

Mrs. Henry Pascal of the United Parents Association, who presided, said that parents looked to the school first for development of their children, but "hand in hand with this individual development we want our children to acquire social responsibility, first in school and home, then in their immediate community and finally in the world."

101 SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

14-A Telephone District 5260-5275 WASHINGTON HERALD—An American Paper for the American People—SUNDAY

500 WORKERS PROTEST PLAN TO DROP CWA

Norman Thomas Accompanies Group on Visit to D. C.; Hopkins Expresses Sympathy

By PHILIP PEARL,
Universal Service

Vigorous protests against discontinuance of the CWA after April 1 were lodged with Federal officials yesterday by a delegation of relief workers who face the loss of their jobs.

A straggling band of 500 men and women, mostly from New York city, trudged through the sleety streets of the Capital waving banners and chanting as they passed the White House:

"CWA must go on!"

WAIT TWO HOURS

They waited patiently outdoors almost two hours while a committee headed by David Lasser presented the pleas of the CWA workers to Harry L. Hopkins, director of the National Emergency

Hopkins, expressing sympathy with their demands for jobs rather than relief, declared the only assurance he could give them was that every one in actual need would be cared for through the Federal relief program which will replace the CWA.

The relief director tried vainly to arrange a personal interview for the committee with the President, who was tied up with negotiations to avert industrial

MET BY SECRETARY

However, the committee was met at the White House by the President's secretary, Marvin H. McIntyre, who promised to submit their pleas to Roosevelt.

The committee was accompanied by Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, and Rabbi Sidney Goldstein, of New York, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Joint Committee on Unemployment.

Addressing Hopkins, Thomas charged:

"You're back at the old game of trying to see just how few crumbs will keep the people quiet."

URGES SLUM WORK

Rabbi Goldstein urged that the Federal Government rebuild city slums in a vast program calculated to employ thousands in New York city. Lasser said:

"The workers cannot and will not endure what must happen to them after demobilization of the CWA. They want jobs at a minimum of $30 a week."

The expenses of the delegation, some $4,800, were paid by contributions of nickels and dimes from members of the nine CWA organizations represented. After attending a Senate hearing on the Wagner-Lewis unemployment insurance bill, they went home last night.

THOMAS AND 1,000 PROTEST ABANDONING CWA PROJECTS

AT UNION STATION—Norman Thomas (the tall man in center holding brief case), 1932 Socialist candidate for President, and other leaders of the 500 who paraded yesterday in protest against abandoning CWA projects, is pictured at Union Station Plaza. They lodged a protest with CWA Administrator Harry L. Hopkins.

Washington Herald Staff Photo

THOMAS SEES WAR CURED BY SOCIALISM

Address Closes Conference of League of Industrial Democracy.

By the Associated Press.

BOUND BROOK, N. J., June 30.—Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, yesterday summed up the Summer conference of the League for Industrial Democracy by saying "the only possible way of combatting Fascism and war is with Socialism."

Thomas, in his closing address to the conference, said "the most important thing I learned here is that Congress recently gave 75,000 used but good rifles to the American Legion. This is one of the most sinister examples of the new deal.

"The Reserve Officers' Association is perhaps even more dangerous than the Legion."

Criticizing an allegation that Fascism is inevitable, Thomas declared: "Don't advocate dictatorship of the proletariat. If I know anything about America, you delegates are going to play into the hands of the Fascists if you go out and talk about this dictatorship."

Eduard Lindeman of the New York School for Social Work said, "We ought to watch the American Legion and see what it is doing. The Legion would very quickly become a secondary army in the American kind of Fascism."

GUNS TO VETERANS SCORED

Norman Thomas Sees Tendency to Fascism in Congress Action.

Special to The New York Times.

BOUND BROOK, N. J., June 24.—The twentieth Summer conference of the League for Industrial Democracy, at Northover Camp, near here, ended its four-day session today. The subject under discussion was "The Menace of Fascism and War."

The consensus of the various round table conferences was that socialism is the only alternative to fascism. Norman Thomas, who was chairman of the conference, pointed out that Congress recently voted to give the American Legion 75,000 "used but good" guns. He held that this action "is the most dangerous tendency toward fascism in America since the New Deal."

(From Late Edition of Yesterday's Times.)

SAYS SOVIET BADE AID TO ROOSEVELT

Thomas Charges Moscow Has Commanded 'Indirect Support' for the President

10/23/36

LINKS PLAN TO WAR PERIL

'Russia' Thinks Landon Would Not Be Friendly, Socialist Tells Philadelphians.

Special to The New York Times.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 22.—A charge that the Communist Party in this country had received direct orders from the Third International to give President Roosevelt "indirect support" in the present campaign was made tonight by Norman Thomas, Socialist nominee for President.

Mr. Thomas made the statement before going to the Metropolitan Opera House, where he addressed some 1,200 persons at a Socialist rally. During his speech he criticized the President for not intervening in the Terre Haute situation growing out of refusal to permit Earl Browder, Communist candidate for President, to speak over the radio station there.

Referring to the One Hundred Club dinner given here last night in honor of James A. Farley, Democratic chairman, Mr. Thomas described it as a "hijacking affair" and said that most of those present were "there under pressure" or because they "wanted to get something."

"With the Roosevelt administration threatening to be in power another four years," he said, "maybe some of those present were looking for a WPA contract—not a WPA job. In my opinion the men and women who were present have a first lien on the commonwealth."

Mr. Thomas made two earlier speeches, addressing 300 Temple University students and then going to the University of Pennsylvania. When some feeble boos were heard during his speech at Pennsylvania, he stopped and urged the students to "boo like men if you're going to boo."

He expressed the belief that President Roosevelt would be re-elected, but that the real issue of the campaign would come after Nov. 3.

"The country is electing a man without a mandate," he declared, "and a Congress also without a mandate.

"Roosevelt has done nothing to clarify the essential differences between his platform and the Republican platform. It would be typical Roosevelt luck to have the Security Act declared unconstitutional. It was very poorly drawn and the workers are bound to protest when they find that the payroll taxes will be passed on to them. The result will be an increase in technological unemployment."

Referring to the Communist phase of the campaign, he said that the party leaders "by this indirect support (of President Roosevelt) have so concentrated fire on Landon that the average worker is led to believe that Landon is the only enemy of the working class."

"The Third International," he added, "expects a new world war; they believe Roosevelt will be more likely to take part, and they want him to take part on terms friendly to Russia. They do not believe Landon would be so friendly."

"Second, they expect a Farmer-Labor party to be formed in this country which will correspond with the Popular Front abroad, and they believe they can dominate it."

IT SOUNDS FAMILIAR

(Editorial in Akron Times-Press)

EDITORS are chronic hoarders of press releases, clippings, and letters. When one cleans out his desk—about once a year—he often has the feeling that history is being made a little too fast to keep up with it.

A year ago a group of Akron Socialists brought to the editor a press release prepared by the party headquarters staff in Chicago. It dealt with the party platform as it was to be expounded by Norman Thomas at the Akron armory on the night of Sept. 2.

Yesterday in cleaning out a desk it came to light.

Here are some of the things Mr. Thomas promised:

That he would "repeal" unemployment.

That he would ask five billion dollars for direct relief of the unemployed.

That he would ask another five billions for financing a public works program.

That he would introduce a compulsory six-hour day and five-day week without reduction in wages.

That he would reorganize industry on a planned basis.

That he would push the principle of public ownership.

All of which has little value except to remind us of a wise-crack made by some known wit after listening to an impressive speech by a Socialist. Asked what he thought of it he replied:

"It's all right, but when we are ready for Socialism the Republicans and Democrats will give it to us."

ACTION OF CHURCHES SCORED BY THOMAS

Socialist Candidate Says They Have Given Too Many Hostages to Capitalism.

By the Associated Press.

LOS ANGELES, October 11.—Saying the world is being crucified for "the god of profits and the moloch of nationalism," Norman Thomas, former minister, now Socialist candidate for President, told the Interdenominational Ministers' Association today the church "has given too many hostages to capitalism to take the side of right in a social question."

He said the social system in this country is illogical and that only a "peaceful revolution with independent political action" could avoid the "horrors of violence and bloodshed."

"The church sits idly by," said Thomas, "and watches the capitalistic system negate every ideal of the Christian religion.

"We have instead of the Christian religion a religion of nationalism, allied with capitalism.

"The church has never been on the side of right in a major incident.

"It is true, that the Protestant churches contributed largely to the textile strike in New York—but then they had no members who were in the cloak and suit business.

"You have given too many hostages to capitalism. Give up some of your many boards of so-called social welfare workers.

"If necessary form a union and affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. You might do labor some good."

THOMAS ASSAILS ARREST OF YAGOL

Socialist Leader Hits John Hudson, Promises Aid to Emory Graduate.

UTICA, N. Y., Oct. 2?.—(AP)—Norman Thomas, socialist candidate for United States senator, tonight issued the following statement regarding the arrest of four persons in Georgia, charged with inciting to insurrection.

"In the course of my campaign, word has just been received by me that four people are in jail in Atlanta, Ga., charged with inciting to insurrection, a crime which may be punished in Georgia by the death penalty.

"One of the four persons is a woman, another is a negro, and the third is a graduate student of Emory University, named Nathan Yagol. The evidence merely shows that some six people were discussing the problem of war at the house of the woman, Mrs. Alling, by name. There is no evidence of any disturbance of any sort whatever, yet these people are all held without bail.

"The charge against Yagol, a man with an especially good reputation for character and intelligence, is that he is a member of the League for Industrial Democracy, and that the league is a communist organization. As an executive director of the league I wish to deny that it is a communist organization in any sense, and to affirm that if it were a communist organization, the arrest and imprisonment of Yagol would be a crime against every American concept of liberty.

"The league and I, personally, stand ready to do everything we can for the defense of Yagol. We think there are enough decent and intelligent people in Georgia to rebuke in no uncertain terms the assistant solicitor-general of Fulton county, John Hudson by name, who seems anxious to prove that he has nothing to learn from Hitler.

"The league will issue an official statement in the matter tomorrow or the next day and will co-operate with the people of Georgia in fighting this menace of every concept of liberty and democracy."

The four referred to by Thomas, in addition to Nathan Yagol, are Mrs. H. W. Alling, at whose home all were arrested; Alex Racholen, a New York attorney, and Charles Weaver, negro. They are being held in the DeKalb county jail without bond.

Thomas Sends F. D. Report on 'Croppers

Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, yesterday wrote to President Roosevelt, in response to a telegraphic query from the White House, about conditions among share croppers in Arkansas.

Thomas, writing from Little Rock, said the Resettlement Administration had done nothing to give relief to evicted share-cropper families.

He asked specifically that members of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union be allowed to participate in any discussion of share-cropper problems.

"The governor of Arkansas," he wrote, "has steadily taken a position of indifference or hostility to the share cropper and has not so much as lifted his little finger to restrain or punish night-riding and other acts of terrorism, such as the breaking up of meetings."

-101 SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

THOMAS TO SPEAK IN 40-STATES TOUR

1932

Socialist Candidate's Itinerary Announced—2,000,000 Votes Predicted.

By the Associated Press.

NEW YORK, August 8.—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, will speak in 40 States between now and election day, it was said today at Socialist headquarters.

[illegible]

THOMAS PRODS 2 CHIEF RIVALS ON LABOR VIEWS

Wants Declarations by Landon and Roosevelt; Declares Lemke Evasive on Pensions

1936

ALLENTOWN, Pa., Aug. 2 (UP).—Norman Thomas, Socialist party Presidential candidate, today sought to pin down both President Roosevelt and Governor Landon to specific declarations on their labor stands.

[illegible]

Walter A. Newport

THOMAS IS INVITED TO TESTIFY ON KLEIN

NY Times Feb 1931

Harvey Asks Him to Produce Evidence to Back Charges in Highway Inquiry.

CITES TAMMANY "PROMISE"

[illegible]

REVEALS DATA ON SPONSOR OF THOMAS SPEECH

Declares Metcalf Former Orator for Friends of Soviet Union

"RED" ANGLES SHOWN

10/14/33

B. Bergstrom, School Teacher, Also Scored By Patriot

[illegible]

NEWPORT (Continued From Page One)

[illegible]

NEWPORT (Continued on Page Two)

NORMAN THOMAS SAYS CAPITALISM IS AGING

Sermon at Princeton Assails System Which Permits Recent Stock Scandals.

1933

PRINCETON, N.J., Feb. 26.—Speaking before a full congregation in the Princeton University Chapel this morning, Norman Thomas advocated a three-point code to relieve the world from its present depression.

[illegible]

ATTACK HARDY REPORT

SOCIALIST FOE HELD FACISM

Norman Thomas Discounts the Major Parties.

[illegible]

THOMAS PLANS 1933 RACE IF U.S. KEEPS PRESIDENT

Defeated Socialist Candidate Declares Roosevelt Returned Banks to Bankers' Control.

[illegible]

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF UTILITIES URGED

Norman Thomas Also Favors Socialized Banking; Hits Roosevelt Plan.

10/4/32

San Francisco, Oct. 4 (AP).—Outright public ownership of public utilities and socialized banking were advocated here tonight by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, in a campaign address.

Regulation of public utilities, he declared, "has proved its inadequacy ... of railroads." Socialized banking, he described as "virtually ..."

"... Roosevelt's ... Thomas continued, "... the power companies ... an absurdity in view of his failure to protect ... per cent of the people of New York ... by reason of the introduction of a service charge during his administration. We need a publicly owned system in which the Federal, State and municipal governments cooperate in the production, transmission and distribution."

Banking, the candidate said, should "be fitted into a general Socialist system." He declared "Government-owned banks otherwise might be like the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, a mere aid to capitalism."

After citing what he said was "the shocking record of privately owned banks," he concluded:

"Positively, there can be no planned production for use, not profit, without social control of credit. Hence our Socialist program! Complete socialization of the Federal Reserve system, with compulsion on all commercial banks to join it; guarantee of deposits under this system; the expansion of the Postal Savings Bank into a Federal bank with segregated thrift and commercial accounts; encouragement of State and municipal banks which, like the Federal Bank, must belong to the Federal Reserve system."

Social Party

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1936.

Socialists Hear Thomas Today In Garden Rally

Winding Up His Campaign, Presidential Nominee Will Speak With State Ticket

Running Mate to Talk

Nelson, With Mayor Hoan, Will Be Heard by Radio

The Socialist national campaign will have its last large-scale rally this afternoon in Madison Square Garden with Norman Thomas, candidate for President, as chief speaker. The audience also will hear radio addresses from Wisconsin by George A. Nelson, candidate for Vice-President, and Daniel W. Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee. The doors of the Garden will be opened at 1:30 p. m. and the meeting will begin at 2:30.

Bereft of many of its leaders as well as a large slice of its potential voters by the secession of right-wing members and by the organization of the American Labor Party, the Socialist party, nevertheless has been carrying on an active campaign in criticism of the rival candidates.

On the program with Mr. Thomas, just back from an up-state tour, will be Dr. Harry W. Laidler, candidate for Governor; Murray Baron, candidate for President of the Board of Aldermen; Professor Coleman B. Cheney, of Saratoga Springs, candidate for Comptroller, and the two candidates for Representative-at-Large, Edna Mitchell Blue, of Schenectady, and Frank R. Crosswaith, chairman of the Negro Labor Committee.

In addition, one-minute speeches will be made by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; David Lasser, national chairman of the Workers' Alliance of America; Murray Gross, manager of the complaint department of Local 22 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Professor Sidney Hook, of New York University; Professor Robert Morss Lovett, president of the League for Industrial Democracy; Joseph P. Lash, national executive secretary of the American Student Union; Ben Fischer, national secretary of the Young People's Socialist League; Girolamo Valenti, editor of "La Stampa Libera"; William Edlin, president of the Jewish Writers' Guild, and Nathan Fine, member of the national executive committee of the Workmen's Circle.

Laidler Finds Relief Inadequate

Dr. Laidler said in a speech yesterday that relief standards in New York today were 40 per cent below the minimum budget fixed by experts in welfare work and that defeat of the $30,000,000 relief bond issue in Tuesday's election would mean stark social tragedy. He addressed a Times Square mass meeting of the Workers' Alliance of America.

Connecticut Watches McLevy

Special to the Herald Tribune

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., Oct. 31.—Political leaders of the state watched Bridgeport tonight and tried to measure the influence of Mayor Jasper W. McLevy, Socialist, on the forthcoming election.

Democratic leaders are confident the election will be much closer in Connecticut than national polls indicate and say they expect Right-wing Socialists to bolt Norman Thomas and support President Roosevelt in sufficient numbers, to elect Landon electors in the state.

Mr. McLevy has often run for Governor on the Socialist ticket, but two years ago he astounded the state by carrying the ... by 4,131 votes over Governor Cross and electing three Socialist State Senators and two Representatives, ... members of their party ever to sit in the Connecticut Legislature.

When the Legislature organized in 1935, Socialists held the balance of power between Western Democrats and fifteen Republicans in the Senate and thus deadlocked organization, delaying Governor Cross's third inauguration for thirty-four hours until a coalition was arranged with Republicans for Bridgeport legislation.

This year Mr. McLevy is battling the Socialist national organization from which Connecticut Right-wing Socialists recently ... Thomas supporters are ... Left-wingers to ... the McLevy ... and write in the ticket headed by Devere Allen.

Thomas Speaks at Vassar

Special to the Herald Tribune

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., Oct. 31.—Norman Thomas, Presidential nominee of the Socialist party, speaking at Vassar College today, asked the question, "After the New Deal, what?" and then said that President Franklin D. Roosevelt's power and influence are very much alive, and will almost certainly win him another term, although the New Deal as it took shape in 1933 has been destroyed by adverse decisions of the Supreme Court. He said the New Deal also has been undermined by Mr. Roosevelt's failure to win class collaboration on which he depended and by general failure of his plans to win more than a temporary return of capitalistic prosperity.

He declared the "New Deal is dead" and proposed a Socialist regime in place of the totalitarian or Fascist fate which he said confronts the country. Mr. Roosevelt has campaigned on a selective interpretation of the history of the last four years and has committed himself to no future plans; he has promised nothing, except by implication a continuance of what is left of the New Deal after Supreme Court decisions, Mr. Thomas said.

"He has not ... constitutional questions that confront us today, such as the road to peace, the increasing denial of civil liberties, a comprehensive program of genuine security or the economics of abundance," he asserted. "In so far as the Republicans have discussed these matters they have discussed them simply in the terms of yearning for an impossible return to the Coolidge epoch."

Asking for support of the Socialist ticket, he said:

"In achieving the goal of the cooperative commonwealth it is obvious that some attention must be paid to the immediate demands of workers who cannot wait to eat till they feast in Utopia. This we Socialists have recognized in this year's platform as in other platforms. The right sort of Farmer-Labor party is likely to be a valuable vehicle of progress. This also we Socialists have recognized. But the achievement of socialism requires conscious Socialist organization. This year more than ever we must keep the banner of socialism flying. Those who believe this will not pray Socialist ... Socialist, and ... will vote Socialist for socialism.

THOMAS PROPOSES U. S. MINE CONTROL

Socialist Leader Urges Federal Ownership of Coal Properties to Stabilize Industry.

1933

By the Associated Press.

FRANKFORT, Ill., January 21.—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President in the last general election, yesterday advocated Federal ownership of coal mines and mining property as a means of stabilizing the industry in an address before 500 miners and their families, who packed a small dance hall here.

Purchase of the mines, the Socialist leader said, could be made through bonds to be matured at the end of 35 years and the bonds to be retired through a tax on coal, an inheritance tax on the bonds and a capital tax on the mines.

Questioned as to what position the Socialist party held on the mine union controversy in Illinois, which in the last year has resulted in the death of eight persons and injury to a score of others, Thomas replied:

"I am speaking on socialism; miners can settle their own controversy."

He criticized yesterday the action of the authorities in sending troops to the Taylorville mine area, where several weeks ago four persons were killed and many wounded in a factional fight between progressive miners and the working miners of the United Mine Workers' Union.

The State, he charged, is spending more money in one day to keep the military in Taylorville than to keep poverty out of the homes in this State.

March 1933

THOMAS OUTLINES HIS VIEWS TO F. D.

President Roosevelt devoted 40 minutes yesterday listening to an exposition of the Socialist program for economic recovery by Norman Thomas, one of the men he defeated for the Presidency.

Thomas was accompanied by Morris Hillquit, of New York, national chairman of the Socialist party.

He praised Roosevelt for his prompt and courageous action in bringing a financial crisis, but said the Administration's program was inadequate. Thomas advocated:

1. Immediate establishment of a publicly owned banking system.

2. Weekly Federal allowances to unemployed families, the minimum $10 a week.

3. Flotation of a $4,000,000,000 bond issue to finance Federal, State and local construction projects.

—Buy American and Be American—

... opened his mouth and said:

"I don't give a damn. It's not my trunk."

Socialist Party June 1937

Welcome, Mr. Thomas

By Isaac Don Levine

NORMAN THOMAS is back from Soviet Russia. Like other outstanding Socialist and labor leaders who recently visited Stalin's paradise, Mr. Thomas is back with a report which shows that he has at last seen the light.

Three labor leaders have now brought to the world the results of their separate surveys of the workers' life under the Stalin regime. In 1935, Walter Citrine, secretary general of the British Trade Unions, studied the Soviet Union at first hand. In 1936, Kleber Legay, the radical secretary general of the Miners' Federation of Northern France, made an extensive tour of Russia. And now, in 1937, comes Norman Thomas, American Socialist leader, with the latest report.

• • •

The three surveys were conducted independently. They covered three successive years. They represented three different national viewpoints. Yet their findings are in complete accord. Mr. Thomas confirms in every detail the observations of Citrine and Legay.

Mr. Thomas confirms the existence of the vast Soviet system of forced labor. He visited the model prison for common criminals at Bolshevo, one of the show-places for the edification of tourists. But he also saw the real Russia, which he describes as follows in the Socialist Call for June 5:

> Scarcely half a mile from the entrance to Bolshevo we passed a big gang of prisoners under armed guard finishing the aqueduct which is part of the Moscow-Volga Canal project. They were presumably "murderers, bandits or political prisoners"—kulaks, real or alleged, and members of that large group of Russians who suddenly disappear from their homes and accustomed places, usually without any trial worthy of the name.

Mr. Thomas discovered that "the Russian peasant and worker live under about the strictest passport system in the world." He found that "they have no right of free association, political or otherwise." He "spent much time trying to figure how a worker could live at all on an average industrial wage of 231 rubles a month."

But what struck Mr. Thomas most in Stalin's classless society was the rising INEQUALITY in the country. He went away from the land of Socialism with the strong feeling "that Russia was not moving towards a classless society, but, on the contrary, perpetuating and even strengthening new class divisions."

• • •

Thousands of American workers, who had migrated to Russia in quest of a Utopia and came back bitterly disillusioned, will welcome the report of Norman Thomas.

A few of these ordinary workers dared to tell the truth about Stalin's slave system two and three years ago, but they were denounced as falsifiers by the very elements of which Mr. Thomas is the leader.

It is gratifying that Norman Thomas had the courage to seek the truth in Russia and to speak it upon his return to America. But everything that he has to say has been told before, in this newspaper, by rank-and-file workers like Fred E. Beal and Andrew Smith, who were the first to expose the tragedy of labor under the Soviet rule.

If Norman Thomas can impart the lesson which he learned in Russia to other American labor leaders, his own belated education will not be wasted. For it is not so much the American workers, as certain American labor leaders, that are badly in need of a new light.

THOMAS TO RUN AGAIN IF THE SOCIALISTS ASK

1936

But Would Prefer Campaign for Congress—Explains His Stand on United Front.

Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, announced yesterday his willingness to accept the nomination for President this year on the Socialist ticket if the party insisted on it, although he would prefer to run for Congress.

In an interview published in the Socialist Call, Mr. Thomas said that he was not seeking the Presidential nomination, which has been given to him twice in the past, but that if his party asked him to run he would not refuse.

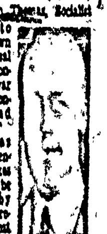
Mr. Thomas said that he was against a formal political united front with the Communists, but that he favors a united front with them on such specific matters as the Herndon and Scottsboro cases, the Frazier-Lundeen Bill and labor demonstrations on May Day.

"A political united front is another matter," Mr. Thomas said. "The differences between us preclude organic unity. We do not accept control from Moscow, the old Communist accent on inevitable violence and party dictatorship, or the new Communist accent on the possible good war against fascism and the new Communist political opportunism. We assert genuine civil liberty in opposition to Communist theory and practice in Russia.

"Despite these differences, which we cannot ignore, we might form a general united front, with permission to differ, in some matters if that were clearly the way in America to win the workers to our cause and to block fascism. On the contrary, in America ...

Thomas Urges Labor To Strike Against War 1935

NEW YORK, Feb. 15.—The world's youth was urged today by Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, to make known its "refusal to be dragooned into war against conscience and conviction."



NORMAN THOMAS

Thomas asserted general strikes should be called by labor in protest against war, with a strong declaration of youth against conscription.

He urged refusal to supply arms to belligerents, an "intelligent use of the war debts to promote good-will," and end to "American imperialism" in the Caribbean region and disarmament, preferably by international agreement, "but ... by example."

Socialist Party

THE EVENING STAR, WASHINGTON, D. C., FRIDAY, JULY 17, 1936.

THOMAS PREFERS F. D. R. TO LANDON

Socialist Tells Institute President Is More Alert to Human Needs.

By the Associated Press.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va., July 17.—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for the Presidency, said today that President Roosevelt is "unquestionably * * * more progressive, more alert to the human problems of his time than Mr. Landon or the men and forces who made the highly synthetic candidate, and can break him."

But, the Socialist speaker added, "what I have said of Mr. Roosevelt certainly cannot be said of such of his henchmen as Vice President Garner, Senator Robinson of Arkansas or Postmaster General Farley."

Thomas spoke before a round table session of the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia.

Though finding the President more "progressive" than his Republican opponents, Thomas found certain phases of Democratic policy not to his liking.

"We quarrel," he said, speaking for his party, "with this administration for the support its Ambassadors to Cuba have given, in behalf of American financial interests, to reaction and tyranny in that island. To a considerable extent the results of the revolution against Machado have been frustrated with American help. We hope the Government—and certainly public opinion—will use its influence against the Ahlemont of repression in Brazil."

Among the "flaws" Thomas found in the Roosevelt record as a progressive were:

"The President's failure, as the great leader of his party, to put through such vital measures as the pure food and drugs act and the Wagner housing bill.

"The administration's failure to use housing instead of made work to conquer both unemployment and slums," and "* * * the way in which the President and party are dodging the constitutional issue."

"Denmark is increasing taxes to raise funds to aid farmers.

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18 Telephone

THOMAS FEARS FASCIST DRIFT BY AMERICANS

Socialist Pessimistic of Trade Outlook; Blames Ford in Part for Briggs Body Strike

1933

NEW YORK, Feb. 6.—Norman Thomas returned from a three weeks tour of the Mid-West today to report "a definite drift toward some American form of Fascist dictatorship."

The Socialist leader told a press conference that ... he returned to his office in New York. He said he had been unable to find any hopeful signs of business improvement and that conditions of workers were worse than they had been since the crash.

SEES WAR PERIL

He also found a warlike attitude among thousands who feared conflict in other countries would help end the crisis here. The danger, he thought, was that America might be drawn into such a war.

Personal inquiries at the Ford plant in Detroit convinced Thomas the motor company's labor policy ... had nothing to do with the Briggs body plant strike ... He added: "... Ford ... the ... people ... The result was ... wage scales ... ever ..."

LICENT AVERAGE

"I talked to women workers ... who averaged ... cents an hour. The average wage is ... 11 cents, and the highest salary I heard of in the Briggs plant was $11 a week to an especially favored man."

Thomas predicted the deflation period will be followed by a time of "Fascist inflation," in which those who have managed to survive the depression will be wiped out, too.

—Buy American and Be American—

101 | SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

THOMAS ACCEPTS LEAGUE APPROVAL

Socialist Candidate Writes Gratitude to Independent Political Action Head.

1932

By the Associated Press.

CHICAGO, July 11.—Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for President, acknowledged today the indorsement of the League for Independent Political Action.

Welcoming the League's support, Thomas, in a message to Devere Allen, New York City editor and head of the league, said:

"In accepting your indorsement, I should be less than candid with the public, less than fair to you or to my party, if I did not remind you what I think you have felt well. I am a Socialist.

"I believe that in the Socialist philosophy, the Socialist program and the building of a strong Socialist party is the chief hope of our time.

"If I understand your position correctly, there is no essential inconsistency between your desires and your indorsement of me with the full understanding of my own devotion to the Socialist cause. Surely in this campaign we can make the field together."

THOMAS SEES CRISIS WORSE THAN IN 1776

Socialist Candidate, Opening Campaign in South Jersey, Assails Opposing Candidates.

1932

Special to The New York Times.

CLEMENTON, N. J., July 4.—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, addressing 3,500 persons at Clementon Park this afternoon in his first South Jersey speech since his nomination, charged both major parties with gross negligence in the matter of unemployment relief and offered socialism as "the only salvation from catastrophe or fascism, which is disaster itself and only postpones catastrophe."

"The heroes of 1776 never faced an emergency so desperate or a decision so important as those we face on July 4, 1932," said Mr. Thomas. "It is not against foreign domination we must fight, but against a system that denies us bread, security and any assurance of peace. The men of 1776, in convention assembled at Philadelphia, found no successors in the old party conventions at Chicago in 1932."

The nominee asserted that in spite of 12,000,000 jobless the Republicans and Democrats did "nothing of importance," showing their only "vitality" in arguing over the terms on which men can get beer and whisky.

The Republican platform, he said, was "badly written, opportunistic, confused and true only in its devotion to private property." He termed the Democratic platform superior in "its brevity and English style," but said it was "an amazingly conservative document for this emergency, coming as it does from the party once as radical as the Bryan platform of 1896."

Court Upholds Ban On Norman Thomas

1935

WESTFIELD, N. J., Oct. 11 (I.N.S.)—A State Supreme Court decision upholding Jersey City's action in denying Norman Thomas a permit to address an open-air meeting was assailed by the Socialist leader who today maintained that "civil liberty is dead in Jersey."

In his opinion, Justice Joseph L. Bodine said that Thomas "may speak freely in any proper place" but observed that public parks and highways were not designated for public meetings.

THOMAS LEADS PROTEST TODAY AGAINST POLICE

Student-Sociologist Group to Tell Brown of Treatment When They Picketed Store

An irate group of student-sociologists will be led to police headquarters today by Norman Thomas, former Socialist candidate for President, to protest against treatment of student pickets of a Seventh Street store by police yesterday.

The students already have made charges of assault and battery, petit larceny, attempt to incite a riot and disorderly conduct against a dozen plainclothes men headed by Lieut. Gustav Lanton, of the Second precinct, as the result of an encounter yesterday.

HERE FOR CONFERENCE

The students are members of the Intercollegiate League for Industrial Democracy, here to attend the National Conference of Students and Politics at the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

Friday they picketed the store of Harry Kaufman, at 1316 Seventh St. N. W., after Kaufman had obtained an injunction against a group of Negroes who had picketed there in protest against Kaufman's refusal to hire colored labor. Kaufman promptly obtained an injunction against the students.

Yesterday they determined to test the injunction, and again went to the store, armed with placards which read:

"Kaufman Refuses Negro Help."

"The New Deal Should Be A Fair Deal."

"Negroes Buy Only Where They Can Work."

When the picketers had paraded a few minutes, Lanton and a dozen plain clothes men appeared. What ensued is reported by police and students variously.

The students say the police, dressed in plain clothes, failed to declare themselves as representatives of the law, but immediately began to manhandle them, tearing the placards from their backs. Naturally, they say, they fought back, ignorant of the identity of their assailants. None was hurt, none was arrested.

The police admit tearing the placards, but insist everything was orderly, and there was no rough play.

REPORT TO THOMAS

Last night the students appeared at police headquarters to make the charges. They then returned to the conference and told Norman Thomas about the matter. In agreeing to accompany them to see Major Brown about it, Thomas said:

"I am happy to support this student group in their attempt to indicate to police that they are not makers of the law, and not interpreters of the law, and by all means should not be violators of the law."

Charges made by the students last night were referred to Lieut. Horace Lineburg, chief of the Crime Prevention Bureau, who said Lanton would be called before Chief of Police Brown and Inspector L. I. H. Edwards today to explain.

MARCH 21, 193[illegible]

THOMAS ASSAILS STRIKE DEFIANCE

Socialist Leader Denounces Attitude of Automobile Manufacturers.

By the Associated Press.

CLEVELAND, March 21.—Strike potentialities in the automobile industry prompted Norman Thomas, former Socialist candidate for President, to declare "I should not allow such bold and contemptuous defiance of the law by the automobile manufacturers."

His remarks drew from Harry F. Payer, Cleveland attorney and member of the foreign trade department of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, a retort during a debate last night that Thomas does not help matters any "by making demagogic attacks on some one who is trying to do something."

Both were speakers in a forum discussion on "The Coming Social Order," other speakers being Dr. Arthur W. Compton of Chicago University, 1927 winner of the Nobel Prize; Dr. A. Eustace Haydon of the University of Chicago; Dr. Jacob O. Meyer of Western Reserve University and Dr. Henry M. Busch, associate director of Cleveland College.

Dr. Meyer asked Thomas and Payer "what would you do tomorrow in connection with the threatened automobile strike?"

Thomas declared automobile manufacturers have discharged men for no other reason than union membership, and declared "I should use the licensing power of the N. R. A. to force the manufacturers to recognize the right of employes to bargain collectively through their chosen unions and then to sit down and talk things over with these unions."

Payer and Thomas then engaged in an exchange during which Payer asserted "under your Socialism the worker would not have the power to strike. Under our democracy he has the power to strike."

Thomas replied, "I hope you'll remind some of the authorities of that, because it seems to me I've heard talk of putting a stop to the strike."

When Payer asked Thomas if he would substitute his judgment for that of "thousands of stockholders," the latter replied "Gaily," and termed the stockholders "God's own fools," saying they lacked judgment.

Payer's statement concerning "demagogic attacks" Thomas countered with "That's just rhetoric, young man. Why don't you talk about facts?"

During the forum Dr. Compton urged the use of the scientific spirit in solving the world's social and economic problems. Science, he said, "has challenged men to shape their own destinies and has given them the tools with which to shape their destiny."

Calling of Troops Scored by Thomas

1932

New York, N. Y.—(AP)—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, issued a statement Friday characterizing the president's action in calling troops against the bonus army as "a bad case of nervous irritation mixed with fear which rationalized itself as a defense of law and order." He added:

"Once more it has been proved that capitalism, which neither can nor will give bread to workers, is more than ready to give them bullets. The use of the army against unemployed veterans under direct orders of the president is criminally inexcusable. So far as order was concerned, the situation had been well handled by the veterans themselves.

"It is the characteristic climax to the policy of a man who promised prosperity to all, but who has fought off every dole except a dole to bankers. Yet the result will not be wholly bad, as it puts new determination into workers who are victims of so cruel a system."

ROOSEVELT "BORROWS" IDEAS, THOMAS SAYS

Some of New Deal Actions Resemble Socialist Platform, Leader Declares.

By the Associated Press.

QUINCY, Mass., October 7.—Norman Thomas, Socialist party leader, said in an address here yesterday President Roosevelt was not a member of that party but that he apparently had read the Socialist platform because "some of the things he has done resemble the platform."

The speaker assailed the National Recovery Administration as being beneficial "to the employer but not to the worker."

He characterized the present naval policy of the administration as liable "to further war more than peace."

...movement and [illegible] of higher standards of living.

NORMAN THOMAS SEES "CRUDE INFLATION PLAN"

Tells Cleveland Audience No Sign of Constructive Policy Is Visible.

1933

By the Associated Press.

CLEVELAND, January 11.—Reserving his [illegible] the "old line" parties, Norman Thomas, recent Socialist candidate for President, told an audience last night that the present economic [illegible] "the paralysis of Washington and the lack of a real constructive policy either here or abroad."

Thomas [illegible] he does not believe [illegible] will meet disaster as soon as [illegible] by technocrats. In his opinion, a [illegible] trend of [illegible] will be met by "some crude measure of inflation."

"This, he said, will wipe out the present staggering debt, but that will not pave the way toward true prosperity."

He spoke before the League for Industrial Democracy.

Mr. Thomas Regrets.

Norman Thomas is not satisfied with the New Deal of President Roosevelt. He denies that the President is a Socialist, despite the assertions to that effect made by Al Smith and other critics of the New Deal administration. Mr. Thomas, who was the Socialist party's candidate for President and may be again, should know what he is talking about. And yet there seem to be evidences that the New Dealers are tending toward socialism. For a cardinal principle of socialism is governmental control of economic activity. The control proposed by the New Deal laws may not be quite as all extensive a control as that advocated by Mr. Thomas and his followers. But an examination of New Deal laws leaves little doubt that the Government is being brought more and more into control of economic activities of the people.

If Mr. Thomas' present attack means anything, it is that the Socialists who follow him are not content to go along with the President in the coming campaign. They will fight for their own hand; for the political and economic theory of social reorganization as they see it. A few months ago President Roosevelt, speaking in California, delivered an appeal to all liberals to follow his lead and unite under the New Deal banner. Mr. Thomas apparently is to be counted out of that proposed united front.

The one law of the New Dealers which Mr. Thomas picks to praise is that setting up the Tennessee Valley Authority. That, he says, substitutes production for use for production for profit, and to that extent is socialistic. His characterization of the T. V. A. is particularly interesting in view of the decision which the Supreme Court of the United States is expected to render today in the case now before it involving the right of the T. V. A. to produce and dispose of electric power in competition with privately produced and distributed electric energy.

Boiled down, Mr. Thomas' criticism of the New Deal and the Roosevelt administration is that they do not go far enough; that they still cling to the old idea of "profit" to the individual for productive work. In this, he contends, there is no difference between the New Deal and so-called old deal, other than a difference in degree.

The American people still have faith in their institutions, in the political and economic theory under which the Nation has been built. They have gone through evil times in the past and have emerged still strong. It is not in the cards that they will slide over to the political and economic theories of Mr. Thomas now. Indeed, the main point of attack made by the enemies of the Roosevelt New Deal is that it seeks to carry the Nation more and more toward those theories held by Thomas and his associates. Al Smith, an incisive critic who speaks plain English, placed his finger on the issue when he declared that the members of the brain trust caught the Socialists in swimming and stole their clothes. Obviously, the Socialists and their leader, Mr. Thomas, do not care to have their clothes stolen.

...[illegible] protection against reprisals.

Socialist Handbook Hits Both Nominees

Hoover Refused Direct Relief to Starving, Roosevelt Did Not Aid New York, It Claims

By United Press.

CHICAGO—Bitter attacks on the records of President Hoover and Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt were contained in a Socialist "Plan For America," party handbook of the 1932 campaign, issued today.

Chapters analyzing Gov. Roosevelt's record were contributed by Paul Blanshard and Henry J. Rosner of the City Affairs Committee of New York.

Blanshard charged that Roosevelt "has not done one thing to eliminate corruption that has not been forced upon him by the pressure of public opinion."

McAlister Coleman, New York journalist, discussing Hoover, declared he "clung to his petty bourgeois thesis that unemployment relief was a 'local concern' and steadfastly refused to grant direct relief to the starving people of his own country."

RUSSIA LIFTS THOMAS BAN

Socialist Party

Reverses Stand and Grants Visa to Socialist Leader.

Norman Thomas, the Socialist leader, received word from the Russian Embassy in Washington yesterday that his request for a visa, reported originally to have been refused, now has been granted, so that he and his wife may visit Russia early next month.

Mr. Thomas, who is attending the national convention of the Socialist party in Chicago, was reported several days ago as having expressed the belief that the Russian Government's refusal in the first instance resulted from his membership on the North American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky.

He wrote to the Russian Ambassador, Alexander A. Troyanovsky, and a meeting was arranged between them for next Tuesday at the Russian Consulate here. Mr. and Mrs. Thomas plan to sail for England on the Aquitania the following day.

Mrs. Thomas said yesterday that the new and favorable ruling on the question of the visa would not result in any change of plans as to the meeting. She said that the Ambassador had expressed a desire to meet Mr. Thomas before he went abroad.

...[illegible] Shirts, however, is at par [illegible]

ROOSEVELT NEGATIVE, THOMAS DECLARES

People Will Vote Democratic to Hit Hoover, Socialist Candidate Believes.

By the Associated Press.

NEW YORK, September 28.—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, declared in an address last night that "such popularity as Gov. Roosevelt is developing throughout the country is wholly negative."

Thomas was the guest of honor at a dinner given by the Thomas-for-President Committee, before his departure on a second coast-to-coast campaign tour.

"I have yet to talk to any one around the country," he said, "who believes Roosevelt or the Democratic party offer anything constructive. They will vote for him and his party, if they vote at all, because they want to hit Hoover. * * * Except as an instrument of vengeance, these voters have no real faith at all in political action."

In talking of what he called "a drift toward Fascism" in the United States, Thomas said:

"Already we have incipient organizations which may conceivably have a Fascist future. I refer to such bodies as the so-called Blue Shirts and the Khaki Shirts. * * *

"So far it has been our amazing good fortune to lack the particular demagogue who can put together the picture puzzle, the pieces of which lie all about us, and make for us a very lurid Fascist blueprint."

Thomas pictured Socialism as the only cure for the country's ailments.

...these tree...

Socialist Party

HOMAS OPPOSED TO 'POPULAR FRONT'

gainst Party Which Would Merge Socialists and Communists.

By the Associated Press.

NAPANOCH, N. Y., June 1[illegible]—Norman Thomas, national chairman of the Socialist party, tonight declared his opposition to any "popular front" party which merged Socialist and Communists.

He told a conference of the League for Industrial Democracy he had "seen nothing" either in political developments in this country or on his recent trip abroad "to make me favor" such a union, "open or tacit."

His words reiterated a clashing note to the conference discussion. Last night Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist party, proposed that the Farmer-Labor party for whose advancement the conference was called should be "the American equivalent of the People's Front in France." Thomas at that time disagreed over any need for a popular front in this country.

Thomas said he favored Socialist-Communist co-operation "on issues on which a common agreement can be reached," but opposed "a blanket agreement for joint action or organic union."

Alfred M. Bingham, editor of Common Sense and executive secretary of the Farmer-Labor political federation, urged the conference toward "a real people's movement * * * not a mere farmer-labor alliance for the furtherance of special immediate class interests, but a popular crusade, such as the New Deal has already foreshadowed—a crusade to achieve an abundant life and true social justice for all."

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1930.

THOMAS PREDICTS A WORLD WAR SOON

He Demands the United States Call World Conference at Once to Avert Peril.

PLEDGES HIS PARTY TO ACT

Conflict Seems Nearer Than in 1913, Socialist Warns—Holds End of Reparations Vital.

Calling for a world conference to induce the nations of the world to "act like a community of neighbors instead of like rival bandits," Norman Thomas warned in a statement issued last night that the present international situation was leading the world into another great conflict.

The first act of Socialist Representatives at the convening of Congress in December, he said, would be to introduce a resolution calling on this government to organize such a conference "to wipe clean the slate of debts and to consider economic relationships between the nations."

The Socialist leader urged disarmament, recognition of Russia and a hands-off policy in Latin America as other necessary steps in the direction of world peace.

"There is one possible social tragedy even greater than the tragedy of unemployment, and this the tragedy of a world war," Mr. Thomas declared. "In the opinion of responsible observers, a world conflict is more likely today than it was thought probable in 1912 and 1913. I believe that world war, while it is all too probable if we drift, is by no means inevitable. The United States can and should take the lead in averting it.

"To accompany the Kellogg pact outlawing war by increased armaments, compulsory military training in high schools and colleges, and billion-dollar naval parity is rank hypocrisy. One can no more stay a [illegible] of other nations by flourishing guns in their faces than one can [illegible] friendship with his neighbors [illegible] tactics. We Socialists [illegible] United States to take the lead, not only by conference but by example toward world disarmament."

In the interest of world prosperity and world peace, German reparations must be wiped out, Mr. Thomas urged. He contended that although the idea of canceling interallied debts was not popular in the United States, it was a doctrine which should be adopted as an insurance against another world war.

Warning that the Hitlerites in Germany menaced the peace of the entire world, Mr. Thomas said the [illegible] of the thunder of the German Fascists and allied groups in Italy, Austria and Poland would become worthless with the cancellation of war debts.

"The victors of the World War disarmed Germany and then refused their promise written into the Treaty of Versailles itself to disarm themselves," the Socialist leader added. "They fastened on Germany the lie that Germany was solely responsible for the guilt of the war. They fastened on Germany reparations running for sixty-two years. Thus they prepared the soil for the evil seed of Hitlerism.

"Today, at a time of falling prices, Germany can only pay her reparations by exports. These exports are not healthy exports, due to give and take of normal world trade. They are exports forced on a highly organized industrial nation to the detriment of wages and the standard of living in that nation. This nation thus becomes by our action the worst kind of competitor. It is to aid the friends of democracy and peace in Europe by coming to the rescue of those who fight in the key position of Europe, Germany, for democracy and peace. We ought to have done it long ago."

The United States Government is acting like an ostrich with its head in the sand in refusing to recognize the Russian Government, Mr. Thomas asserted. Although it is true that many problems exist between the two countries, these can be treated better following recognition of the Soviet régime, he said.

Socialist Thomas Assails Election Laws in Florida

MIAMI, Jan. 31—(AP)—Florida's election laws, the Townsend old age pension plan, and Fascism were denounced tonight by Norman Thomas, Socialist leader.

Thomas, speaking at Carpenters' hall under the auspices of the Miami Socialist party, called upon listeners [illegible] to combat the "hypocrisy" in the state's election laws.

"If you believe in democracy then live up to it and [illegible] the hypocrisy in your election laws which prevent Socialist party candidates obtaining their names on ballots," Thomas declared.

"Although I do not believe in government by courts," he added, "I do hope someone will take your election laws to the highest court."

The Florida election laws prohibit printing names of a particular political party on ballots when that party did not receive at least 25 per cent of the votes in the previous election.

Old age pensions of $2,400 annually to persons 60 or more years of age, would be more than the average worker received in 1933, the Socialist head said. He added:

"Now I ask you how do they expect to pay an unemployed person more than a worker received. The per cent tax won't do it."

Thomas said the Townsend plan could not succeed under a capitalistic system.

Referring to the recent flogging death of Joseph Shoemaker, Tampa labor organizer, Thomas warned "if we are to resist Fascism we must watch the little spots."

"However, Florida is not the only state in which we must be watchful," he continued. "There are many others. There is Indiana and California and even Arkansas, where recently I was run out of a county at the end of shotguns."

1932

THOMAS AS SPEAKER BARRED BY COLLEGE

Club at Brooklyn Institution for Women Cancels Invitation by Order of 'the Authorities.'

SOCIALIST VOICES PROTEST

Wants to Know Whether Ban Against Him Would Also Apply to Hoover or Roosevelt.

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Congress from the Sixth District, Brooklyn, protested yesterday a ruling of the authorities of Brooklyn College which will prevent him from speaking before the Social Science Club of the institution on Tuesday. He had been invited to speak on "Why Politics Matter," and intended to make no reference to the present campaign, he said.

Miss Gwendolyn Lurie of 221 Linden Boulevard, Brooklyn, vice president of the club at the Brooklyn institution, declared that she had been ordered to withdraw the invitation that had been extended to Mr. Thomas.

"The authorities of the college ordered the withdrawal," Miss Lurie said, "so naturally we could do nothing but comply."

Mr. Thomas, in his letter to the dean of the college, Adele Pilderson, said:

"Political" Speakers Barred.

"Miss Gwendolyn Lurie, vice president of the Social Science Club, writes me that by the direction of 'the authorities' she is obliged to cancel an engagement for me to speak before the Social Science Club on Tuesday, Oct. 14, on the subject 'Why Politics Matter' because 'it has been the rule of the college not to have any speakers on political subjects.'

"Now it happens that I have previously spoken in your college one or more times on subjects fully as political as my address 'Why Politics Matter,' which is not a campaign address but an address I often use at colleges and elsewhere. I was not asked the nature of this address nor was I asked whether I would substitute for it some other subject of the many on which I have spoken before groups in the leading colleges in America. The date was simply canceled by some paternalistic authority who takes the extraordinary position that girls in college should not hear any speaker on a political subject.

"I do not know whether this ruling was meant as a discrimination against me because I am a Socialist or whether it is meant to apply in so broad a sense that President Hoover or Governor Roosevelt could not speak to the Social Science Club of your institution on the subject, 'Why Politics Matter.'

Sees "Sin" Against Education.

In either case I wish to voice my emphatic protest, not as a personal matter, but because it is a sin against every sound idea of education to exclude from the attention of college girls studying social science any reference to political subjects except those subjects which may be carefully and innocuously handled by professors who, to judge from the rule must walk in fear of their jobs.

"May I add that you [illegible] is one of the few colleges of standing in the country which takes this position, as I know from personal experience. Precisely because yours is a city college the stand is the more inappropriate.

"I should be grateful if you would send this letter to the anonymous authorities. I shall, of course, give it publicity, for this is a matter which vitally concerns the public."

Mr. Thomas also cited the instance of the refusal of Hunter College authorities to allow Heywood Broun, also a Socialist candidate for Congress, to speak before an organization there.

"I object to a college government which decrees that neither Mr. Broun or myself shall speak before a student body," he said. "It narrows down to a censorship of public speakers who are invited to speak before these bodies."

THOMAS QUESTIONS ROOSEVELT ON CRISIS

1932

Holds "Worse" Could Be Said of Hoover, but Asks What the Governor Has Done.

Special to The New York Times.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., Aug. 21.—Norman Thomas, the Socialist nominee for President, in an address here today, voiced agreement with "almost all the things Governor Roosevelt said about President Hoover in yesterday's speech at Cleveland, but remarked that "worse" could have been said.

Mr. Thomas said that the Governor made it clear that his "forgotten man" was the "investor," but did not "say anything about workers or farmers or the unemployed." Then he propounded the following questions for the Democratic candidate:

"Will you state specifically when you or your party officially called on the administration to check the Wall Street boom and what specifically you advised the administration to do?

"Do you share the pride of certain of your national committeemen that the mere fact of your nomination was responsible for the present tender boom on Wall Street, which has been accompanied by a new drop in the index of business activity?

"What did you do as Governor of New York after Jan. 21, 1929, to bring Wall Street to terms?

"Will you state clearly and specifically what advice you gave your party in the country as candidate for the Presidential nomination from the day you took office as Governor until your success in Chicago, on tariff legislation, loans to foreign governments and corporations, the sales tax and policy governing currency and credits?

"Specifically, why did you not push the recommendation of Robert Moses, Moreland act investigator in the City Trust Bank failure, in time to save or help save the Bank of United States? Why did you supplant Mr. Moses on the banking commission by the attorney for the Bank of United States? This is not local matter in view of your sharp criticism of the Hoover policy toward banking.

"May I ask why you have such faith in regulation in view of the unsatisfactory nature of all attempts at regulating these big corporations, and especially in view of the fact that during your own administration the power trust in New York City has got away with a scheme of service charges which in these hard times compels some 50 per cent of domestic users of electricity to pay more than they paid before?"

THOMAS RIDICULES ATTACKS ON REDS

"Wild Talk," Says Socialist at Campaign Inaugural

WANTS DRY LAW REPEAL

Candidate for Congress in 6th Is for Volstead Change

Scoring "wild talk of [illegible] and boycotts against Russian goods or other efforts to make Russia the scapegoat for the economic breakdown of the profit system," Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Congress in the 6th district, Brooklyn, opened his campaign last night with a speech at Public School 167, Eastern Parkway and Schenectady Avenue, Brooklyn.

Thomas launched a two-headed attack against his Democratic opponent, Representative Andrew L. Somers, whom he called Boss McCooey's man in Congress, and Joseph L. Meyerson, Republican, whom he assailed for defending the Hoover record.

The Socialist outlined the measures he would fight for in Congress. He declared he would demand nation-wide insurance against unemployment, increases in taxes on large incomes and inheritances, a lending part by the United States in disarmament, American adherence to the League of Nations, a reduction of [illegible] the tariff [illegible] abolition of the [illegible] in industrial disputes, prohibition of child labor, public ownership of public utilities, natural resources and basic monopolies, and repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Pledged to Modification

"I pledge myself, if elected, to work for a national referendum and in the meantime as a temporary [illegible] modification of the Volstead act," said Thomas.

"I have long believed that the Eighteenth Amendment is doing more harm than good and should be repealed in favor of a law giving to states the power, if they so desire, to sell liquor in an adaptation of the Canadian plan."

"I am running against John McCooey, absolute political monarch of Brooklyn, who makes and unmakes Supreme Court judges, borough presidents and all other officers down to aldermen," said Thomas.

"McCooey's congressman happens to be named Somers, which is really a matter of minor importance. Mr. Somers, heretofore an amiable young man, lately has got so excited about my candidacy that he has been seeing things at night and made the remarkable record of two [illegible] false statements about my candidacy in one public letter, since which time he has kept still with the obvious intention of letting the machine do his work for him.

"I am also running against a Republican candidate who I believe has [illegible] the whole-hearted support of the Hoover administration and his endorsement of the record. That, I think, will be just about all the support needed to know [illegible] record has been so [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

SAYS CAPITALISM FACES CHALLENGE

Norman Thomas Puts Idleness Blame On Failure Of Industrial System

IS SPEAKER AT DINNER

Johns Hopkins University Group Hears Socialist Explanation Of Unemployment

The present unemployment crisis is an outstanding challenge to the American capitalist system, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President in 1928, said last night.

Mr. Thomas, who spoke at a dinner in Levering Hall of the Johns Hopkins University under the auspices of the college chapter of the Young Men's Christian Association, traced the factors leading up to the present unemployment situation and stated that unemployment actually began with the introduction of machinery and mass-production methods.

Points Out Paradox

The poorest countries, Mr. Thomas said, are those in which machine methods have not been introduced and [illegible] of the introduction of machines replacing man power and creating unemployment.

Capitalism has failed in its efforts of stabilizing industry and production to that point where unemployment cannot result, Mr. Thomas asserted. He said that the only cure for the evil, as he saw it, was to plan production and distribution.

Suggests Half Billion

For the immediate relief of unemployment, Mr. Thomas would have the Federal Government appropriate one-half billion dollars to be matched, dollar for dollar, by local relief agencies. He also advocates a one-billion-dollar bond issue for public works.

"In the building up of a standard machinery for the permanent relief of unemployment, I would include, first, a means for determining the exact number of unemployed, and, second, the creation of a system of public employment bureaus that would force out of existence the present bureaus which, in New York, next to the vice graft, is the worst in the city," Mr. Thomas said.

Wants Plan Ready

Mr. Thomas would institute a plan for public works to be ready when hard times come, eliminating hectic and hysterical last-minute efforts to hasten construction of municipal, state and federal projects.

In conclusion Mr. Thomas asserted there should be a nation-wide plan of unemployment insurance, the cost of which should be borne by industry. He advocated the elimination of child labor, the creation of old-age pensions and a shorter working week.

Fashions Society Radio

SECOND SECTION

Criticism

Thomas Observes Democracy's Doom; Prof. Lovett Agrees

'No Crisis in American Democracy,' Says Socialist Leader—'Isn't Any Democracy'

There is at present no real crisis in American democracy because there is no real democracy in the United States, according to Norman Thomas, Socialist leader who was speaker at the 30th anniversary dinner of the League for Industrial Democracy held last night in the Y. W. C. A.

"The way to end the drift to Fascism in this country is to make effective the traditions of democracy now in existence," he continued. "I do not believe the task is hopeless."

LOSS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Citing the recent beating of three men accused of "Communistic activities" in Florida, Thomas said that it has never been harder to get Federal support for the protection of civil liberties than during recent years.

In California, Georgia, Illinois, Arkansas and Florida, he charged there have been many instances of the suppression of fundamental civil rights.

As to the present drive to force all teachers to take oaths supporting the Constitution, Thomas said: "I do not understand why all teachers are objects of suspicion or why we should exact a special oath from them."

SEES DEMOCRACY FADING

Robert Morss Lovett, University of Chicago professor and noted liberal, told League members that the tide toward democracy was going out.

He said that the success of capitalistic democracy came during a period of expansion but that now in maturity the system was unable to cure its own defects. He contended that it would be easier to recreate the social order than to attempt to reform the present form of government.

The dinner was presided over by Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Socialist author. Other speakers included Dr. Walton H. Hamilton, the President's advisor on consumer problems, and David Lasser, head of the Workers Alliance.

7/1/37

District 5360-5378

THOMAS FLAYS ABUNDANT LIFE IN DEBATE HERE

Socialist Claims Chinese Are Better Off Than Share-Croppers; Carothers Opposes View

Two advanced but dissimilar viewpoints on "How to Achieve the Abundant Life" were presented in the Town Hall of Washington at the Shoreham Hotel last night when Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, met Dr. Neil Carothers, noted economist and educator, in debate.

Thomas, Socialist candidate for President in 1928, 1932 and 1936, came forward with the socialistic plea for sweeping Governmental reforms that would include complete Federal control of many of the Nation's larger industries.

Dr. Carothers, Dean of the School of Business Administration of Lehigh University predicated his arguments upon the assumption Americans under their present system of Governmental control are the most fortunate people in the world's history.

Starvation Charged

The debate was presented in three sections: The presentation of the two speakers in outlines of their basic thought on the subject; a discussion between the two on salient points developed in their opening discourse, and finally their answers to questions presented by members of the large audience.

Thomas made frequent references to "starvation in the midst of plenty" and contended the masses in some sections of China have more to make them happy and comfortable than some of the share-croppers in the Southern cotton belt.

Dr. Carothers declared mankind has struggled up through the ages in the most miserable kind of poverty, brutality, oppression and squalor to attain the present civilization, which gradually is growing better.

Much of Thomas' argument dealt with Russia and the program of advancement under the Soviet government.

Comment Clever

Dr. Carothers observed he and Thomas had attended the same university. Thomas replied:

"That shows what education will do!"

And as quickly, Dr. Carothers shot back:

"He took under-graduate work and I took graduate work!"

Some of Thomas' rejoinders were:

"Great wealth manipulated and speculated to bring about our mechanical progress. We paid for it in blood."

"The trouble in Spain today is the rising of the workers against the slavery system of capitalism."

Dr. Carothers observed:

"How many in Russia today would leave that country and come to America if they knew they would not be shot down for trying to get away from that country?"

THOMAS, NORMAN M. - Member, National Committee, American Civil Liberties Union; American Committee Opposed to Alien Registration; Board of Directors, American Fund for Public Service; Advisory Council, American Association for Old Age Security; National Advisory Committee, American League to Abolish Capital Punishment; American Progressive Committee for Support of "11 Score Monday"; Committee on Militarism in Education; National Executive Committee, Conference for Progressive Labor Action; India Independence League of America; Institute of International Relations; International Committee for Political Prisoners; Executive Committee, League for Political Action; Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy; Contributing Editor, "The Nation"; Executive Board, National Council for Prevention of War; Contributing Editor, "New Leader"; Open Forum Speakers' Bureau; Board of Directors, Pioneer Youth of America; Rand School of Social Science; Author of "Socialism of our Times"; Candidate, Prominent Socialist, N. Y. C.; National Committee, Socialist Party Convention in Schenectady; Socialist candidate for U. S. Congress; Contributing Editor, "The World Tomorrow"; Speaker, Young People's Socialist League, N. Y. C.; National World Court Committee; Advisory Council, Foreign Language Information Service (1931); Advisory Board, National Religion and Labor Foundation (1932); Advisory Board, Russian Reconstruction Farms (1926); Vice-Chairman, Emergency Peace Committee (1932); Contributor, "Socialist Planning & A Socialist Program (1932); Contributor, "America For All" (Socialist publication) (1932); National Committee on Correspondence and Action, Continental Congress for Economic Reconstruction (1933); Arrangements Committee, U. S. Congress Against War (1933); Chairman, Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief (1933); National Committee, League Against Fascism (1933); Advisory Committee, N. Y. Workers' Committee on Unemployment (1934); Endorser, National Conference on Students in Politics (1933); National Committee on Workers & Farmers Rights, organized by L. C. L. U. (1934); Executive Committee, Socialist Party of America (1933); Socialist Party candidate for Senate, N. Y., (1934); Chairman, Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief (1934); Sponsor, Artists & Writers Dinner Club (1935); Member, League for Mutual Aid (1936); Member, World Peaceways (1935) Contributing Editor, "The Challenge" (1935); Sponsor, Emergency Peace Campaign (1936); Contributor, "The Socialist Call" (1936).

Thomas, Norman

Learns for Industrial Democracy--Pamphlet, "Why I Am A Socialist"

A SOCIALIST SPEAKER.

Norman Thomas of New York City, and the candidate of the Socialists in 1928 for the presidency of the United States, will be the speaker at a chapel period at DePauw University Thursday morning.

Thomas is a brilliant man, but we doubt the wisdom of allowing such speakers to come to DePauw, one after the other, as has been the case in recent years. This tendency of educating young men and women along socialistic lines seems to increase at DePauw as the years go by. So far we have not heard of any of these speakers advocating the overthrow of the United States government, but there are plenty of them in this country who openly or secretly are working to this end.

Speakers just as brilliant as Thomas and the other radical thinkers who have appeared here, are to be had, and their logic, we believe is more sound than some who have come to the DePauw campus. Students should be educated in the fundamentals of sound government, not educated in policies of destruction and by obstructionists.

THE GREENCASTLE BANNER. February 19, 1930.

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[illegible]

[illegible] Chairman
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NEWS AND FEATURES from the LABOR AND SOCIALIST PRESS SERVICE
549 Randolph Street · State 3250 · Chicago, Illinois
Published weekly by National Headquarters, Socialist Party • Hy Fish, Editor

November 13, 1936

SOCIALISTS SEND MESSAGE TO A.F. OF L.

CHICAGO -(LSP)- The following message of greetings was sent to the convention of the American Federation of Labor meeting now in Tampa, Fla., by the national executive committee of the Socialist party through its secretary, Clarence Senior.

The Socialist message read, "The need for union organization is being felt everywhere. Organized labor must take advantage of this by uniting its forces and launching a bold program of organization in the mass production industries along industrial lines. Such an organization program plus the lifting of the suspension of the Committee on Industrial Organization unions will mean a revitalized A.F. of L.

"We hope your internal problems will not make it impossible to discuss the need for a national labor party. Labor can win concessions and exert pressure only by political independence. Labor can win full emancipation only in a workers' world.

"For a successful convention. For unity. For industrial organization. For a labor party. For a workers' world."

# # # #

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEADER RETURNS FROM EUROPE

NEW YORK - (LSP)- Fresh from the battlefields of Spain, Ernest Erber, national chairman of the Young People's Socialist League, will return to this country on Nov. 19 and after conferring with the Y.P.S.L. national executive committee will start on a coast to coast speaking tour. While in Europe where he attended the World Youth Congress, Erber interviewed leading Socialists and unionists, and spoke at numerous meetings. He addressed English and American workers from Spain over a powerful short wave radio station.

# # # #

WEST COAST SOCIALIST PAPER OUT NOV. 28

SAN FRANCISCO - (LSP)- Nov. 28 is the date scheduled for the appearance of the first issue of "Labor Action," west coast Socialist paper. An introductory offer of $1 for a year's subscription is offered if sent in before Jan. 1. The address of "Labor Action" is 1057 Steiner St., San Francisco, Calif.

James P. Cannon and Glen Trimble are associate editors. Frank Stern is business manager.

It was explained that the paper was being published at this time so as to keep the public informed of the facts in the maritime strike. The major portion of the paper will be devoted to reports of labor news on the economic and political fields.

# # # #

EDITORS: If you have not yet done so, send for a sample copy of "Children's Corner," a monthly service free to labor papers to help draw children of trade unionists closer to the labor movement. It is issued by the Falcons of America, national organization of workers' children. This free service will bring you interesting stories, puzzles and games for children, all pertaining to labor. The address of the Falcons of America is 721 Roxley Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

101 | SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

101 | SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

WHAT THOMAS, SOCIALIST CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, WOULD DO IF ELECTED

In an Intimate Talk He Says, in the Event of an All-Around Sweeping Victory, the Entire Constitution of the United States Would Be Repealed—Declares Soviet Government Better Than Ours in Some Respects

In this talk with Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, it was clearly brought out that he favored an entirely new Constitution of the United States.

On the supposition that he would be elected and that the Socialists would attain a sweeping victory in both Houses of the Congress, he said the entire Constitution would be Repealed and Re-written.

In many respects, he added, the Soviet form of Government was much better than ours.

Numerous other points were brought out in this intimate talk that run directly counter to our long-established and long-tried system of Government in this Republic, which has put our Nation in the lead of all countries of the Earth.

Whether Republicans or Democrats, let us attend to these claims and efforts of the Socialists in this country.

By FREDERICK BOYD STEVENSON

"SUPPOSE the Socialists should WIN a SWEEPING VICTORY—ELECT their PRESIDENT and CARRY BOTH BRANCHES of the CONGRESS by OVERWHELMING MAJORITIES—what would they DO?"

I put that question to NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist Candidate for President of the United States, who was the first in the field as a nominee for that highest office in the Land.

IT WAS rather Sudden, and he hesitated a moment before replying, and then he said:

"But we CAN'T WIN! We know that."

"Perhaps not," I replied, "but STRETCH YOUR IMAGINATION—JUST SUPPOSE YOU SHOULD—what then?"

He smiled—either pleased with the thought or in derision at my assumption.

"Well," he said carefully, "there would be a REVISE the PEACE TREATY under ARTICLE XIX of the Covenant and that that Treaty BE ENFORCED!

"And as another first step we would GIVE INDEPENDENCE to the PHILIPPINES, AUTONOMY to PORTO RICO, and CIVIL GOVERNMENT to the VIRGIN ISLANDS.

"And RIGHT AWAY we would RECOGNIZE the SOVIET GOVERNMENT of RUSSIA."

"Red and all?" I asked.

He smiled.

"Let me tell you something," he said.

"THE SOVIET—
"GOVERNMENT IS MUCH—
"BETTER, IN MANY—
"RESPECTS, THAN OUR—
"PRESENT GOVERNMENT—
"OF THE UNITED STATES!"

"END PROHIBITION!—FAST.

"WIPE OUT CONSTITUTION AND MAKE A NEW ONE."

MAKING IT "A SCRAP OF PAPER"

and QUESTWORK will not win, even in Politics.

Another appeal of a decidedly fundamental order follows:

TO WIPE THE WORKERS CIVIL LIBERTIES ARE DENIED, INJUNCTIONS ARE INVOKED AGAINST UNION ACTIVITIES AND THE COURTS ARE MADE THE INSTRUMENTS OF THAT CLASS OF JUSTICE OF WHICH THE MOONEY CASE AND ITS LEGALIZED MURDER OF SACCO AND VANZETTI WERE CONSPICUOUS EXAMPLES.

Sacco and Vanzetti were MURDERERS and they met the JUST FATE of ALL MURDERERS. If the Socialist Party insists upon making such statements it places itself in the position of not desiring to PUNISH CRIME and it will do itself no credit in the eyes of HONEST, LAW-ABIDING AMERICANS.

SOME OF THE MAIN THINGS FOR WHICH THE PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALISTS STANDS.

Here are the main things for which the Socialist Platform stands—

1—Nationalization of our Natural Resources, beginning with the Coal Mines and Water Sites, particularly at Boulder Dam and Muscle Shoals.

2—Publicly Owned Giant Power System under which the Federal Government shall co-operate with the States and Municipalities in the distribution of electrical energy to the people at cost.

3—National Ownership and democratic management of Railroads and other means of Transportation and Communication.

4—An additional National Program for Flood Control, Flood Relief, Reforestation, Irrigation and Reclamation.

5—Immediate Relief of the Unemployed by the Extension of All Public Works.

6—Loans to States and Municipalities without Interest for the purpose of carrying on Public Works and the taking of such other measures as will lessen widespread misery. Also a system of Unemployment Insurance.

7—Shortening the Work Day and security to every Worker a

101 SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

that."

"Perhaps not," I rejoined, "but STRETCH YOUR IMAGINATION—JUST SUPPOSE YOU SHOULD—what then?"

He smiled—either pleased with the thought or in derision at my assumption.

"Well," he said carefully, "there are so many things to be done that it is rather difficult to block out a definite program as to just what thing we should take up first. I want you to fully understand, however, that we are NOT RADICAL. We—if we should win—would move very slowly and carefully. We would block out our way deliberately. Everything we did would be for the benefit of the mass of the people."

He waited a moment.

Then he said—

"One of the FIRST THINGS we would do would be to take steps to lead in ABOLISHING WAR."

"How?" I asked. "A MERE RESOLUTION or OFFICIAL STATEMENT or a CONGRESSIONAL BILL would not do it."

"That is true," he said.

"THE FIRST STEP—
"TO ABOLISH WAR—
"SHOULD BE TAKEN—
"BY THE UNITED STATES—
OF AMERICA!"

HOW NORMAN THOMAS THINKS HE COULD ABOLISH ALL WARS.

"HOW?" I queried.

"By CURBING OUR GENERAL MOVEMENT TOWARD IMPERIALISM," he answered. "The immediate ending of our military intervention in the Caribbean Countries. We would at once WITHDRAW our SOLDIERS FROM NICARAGUA and KEEP THEM OUT OF CENTRAL AMERICA and ALL OTHER COUNTRIES.

"Then we would CANCEL ALL WAR DEBTS now due this country from its former Allies, on the condition that ALL the other countries would CANCEL ALL WAR DEBTS DUE THEM.

"And following up that move we would WARN all Money Interests that PRIVATE LOANS and INVESTMENTS of AMERICAN CITIZENS in FOREIGN COUNTRIES would be made at the SOLE RISK of the Investors and Bondholders and that the United States Government would NOT under any circumstances INTERVENE with Foreign Governments to PROTECT such Investors and Bondholders.

"Then we would START RIGHT IN with an active campaign to END LARGE NAVY and ARMY Programs. The United States should take the LEAD in ENDING War, and if WE [illegible] we would see that it DID TAKE the LEAD. Now, while the League of Nations has done some excellent service in a way, we realize that its powers are limited. There is need of REVISION of its Covenant and the Treaty of Versailles. We would UNITE with the WORKERS of EUROPE and DEMAND that the League

"GOVERNMENT IS MUCH—
"BETTER, IN MANY—
"RESPECTS, THAN OUR—
"PRESENT GOVERNMENT—
"OF THE UNITED STATES!"

"END PROHIBITION?—EASY. "WIPE OUT CONSTITUTION "AND MAKE A NEW ONE."

Well, the Socialists certainly have some changes in view.

So I thought I would go a little deeper with my questions.

BUT I had the GREATEST SURPRISE COMING.

I questioned him on that most PUZZLING CROSS-WORD PUZZLE of the DEMOCRATIC and REPUBLICAN PARTIES—PROHIBITION.

Right offhand I queried—

"What would you DO about PROHIBITION?"

"Why, we would HAVE NO TROUBLE ABOUT THAT," he replied.

"Are you in favor of PROHIBITION?" I asked.

"You know," he said, "we Socialists do not believe that the Personal Liberty of any man or woman should be interfered with so long as it does not interfere with the Rights of any one else. So, of course, we are NOT in FAVOR of PROHIBITION as it is in force today."

"But," I suggested, "you would have hard work amending or wiping out the EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT, for, you know, even if you had a SWEEPING VICTORY and had TWO-THIRDS of BOTH HOUSES of CONGRESS, to adopt the necessary resolution to AMEND or ANNUL it you would still REQUIRE THREE-FOURTHS of the STATE LEGISLATURES to RATIFY that AMENDMENT or ANNUL it, and if the DRYS COULD HOLD ONLY THIRTEEN STATES the Country would STILL BE DRY. What would you do about THAT?"

He smiled—probably at my Socialistic Ignorance.

"That is easy enough," he said.

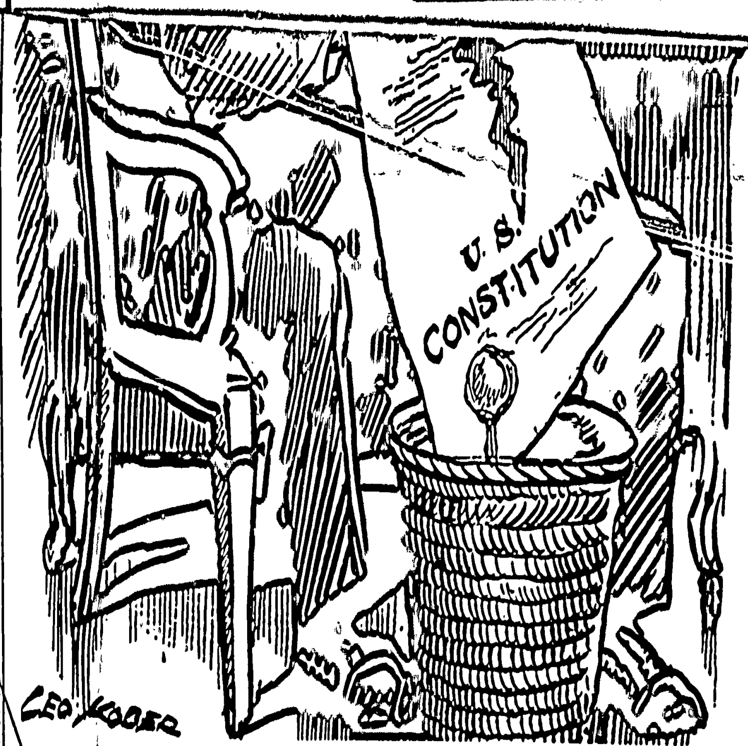
"WE WOULD NOT JUST—
"WIPE OUT THE—
"EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT.
"WE WOULD WIPE OUT—
"THE ENTIRE—
"CONSTITUTION—
"OF THE UNITED STATES—
"AND MAKE A NEW ONE—
"FROM START TO FINISH!"

WOULD HAVE PREVENTED CIVIL WAR BY PAYING SOUTH FOR ITS SLAVES.

There GOES YOUR JOHN HANCOCK and those OTHER SIGNATURES of the THIRTEEN ORIGINAL STATES!

And there GOES that HONORED DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE which, in the second paragraph, has cleared up ALL these YEARS ago.

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR



WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

And there GOES that last paragraph that is a CALL to ARMS in DEFENSE of OUR COUNTRY, its DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCE, and its CONSTITUTION, so that ALL WHO READ MAY HEED—

AND FOR SUPPORT OF THIS DECLARATION, WITH A FIRM RELIANCE ON THE PROTECTION OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE, WE MUTUALLY PLEDGE TO EACH OTHER OUR LIVES, OUR FORTUNES AND OUR SACRED HONOR.

But let's get back to Norman Thomas.

"How would you wipe out the Constitution of the United States?" I asked.

"I would call a CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION and begin it all over again," he replied.

"And other changes in our System of Government would probably come within your Scheme of Reform—would they not?"

"Yes—quite a few."

"For instance?"

"The present method of Electing our Presidents. I would ABOLISH the ELECTORATE system. I would have a DIRECT VOTE by ALL the PEOPLE of the COUNTRY."

"And what else?"

"There should be ABSOLUTE STATE RIGHTS in all that the WORDS IMPLY. Each State should decide how that State should be run."

"That is what the SOUTHERN STATES wanted," I suggested.

"Yes, and that is what they should have had and would have under SOCIALISTIC RULE," asserted the Socialist Nominee for President of the United States.

"And how about Slavery?"

Said he—

"THE NORTH SHOULD HAVE—
"ENDED SLAVERY BY—
"HAVING THE GOVERNMENT—
"BUY AND PAY THE SOUTH—
"FOR ALL THE SLAVES."
AND, INCIDENTALLY, THAT—
WOULD MEAN—BUT HE—
DID NOT SAY SO—
THAT THE SOUTH, IF—
LOYAL TO THE U. S.—
GOVERNMENT, WOULD HAVE—
TO STAND PART OF THE—
PAYMENT OF ITS—
OWN SLAVES!

CHARGES GREAT GRAFT UNDER WALKER AND SAYS HOPE IS IN SOCIALISM.

Mr. Thomas has other views. Among them he believes that the Socialist Vote at this Presidential Election will total 3,000,000. The vote at the last Presidential Election was 1,?17,?33, so the only question will be whether the Socialists will gain or lose at the coming Election.

And POLITICS is a QUEER PROPOSITION.

Mr. Thomas admits that himself.

He says, for example, that Mayor Walker's ultimatum to City Department Heads to PUT AN END TO CORRUPTION or RESIGN is ALL "POLITICAL HOKUM," and that is the BEST THING Mr. Thomas has said, although you can't find "HOKUM" in the Dictionary. But you know what he MEANS.

Says Norman Thomas—

"The GRAFT under the Walker Administration will reach $100,000,000 a YEAR and the NEW TAMMANY of GOVERNOR SMITH and MAYOR WALKER is RESPONSIBLE for the GRAFT!

"BOSS TWEED'S RING LOOTED the CITY of $200,000,000. If the SEWER, SNOW REMOVAL and STREET CLEANING EXPOSURES are any criterion, the WALKER REGIME has DONE MUCH BETTER!"

While I didn't come from Missouri, but Ohio, Mr. Thomas' Native State, I just can't help asking questions. And while he probably—as noted so far in this article—has given me enough reasons WHY HE IS A SOCIALIST, I asked him that FAIR QUESTION right out in the open.

This is how he declared himself—

"I am a Socialist because in our modern World it seems to me that Socialism affords our best hope of utilizing our immense resources of material skill so as to abolish poverty and the terrible insecurity of the workers, reduce the menace of War, and increase the measure of Freedom and Fraternity in our World.

Socialism is no infallible panacea, but it does afford our best hope of comparatively peaceful progress toward that Fellowship of Free Men which is the only Utopia worth while. Socialism may propose changes that may correctly be called REVOLUTIONARY. Yet the more widespread is the acceptance of its point of view, the more likely are we to escape the violence which hitherto has popularly been associated with the notion of REVOLUTION."

These are among the main points in Norman Thomas' belief for the EQUALITY of ALL MEN. He believes that Socialism is the one move that will bring about that Equality and Prevent Poverty. He says it is possible that the pressure of Population upon Food Supply may bring about a New Age of Poverty, but that the increased knowledge of Scientific Birth Control gives hope that this ultimate danger may be avoided.

And then he says—

"WITH ALL OUR MACHINERY—
"AND ALL OUR NATURAL—
"ENERGY WE DO NOT—
"PRODUCE ENOUGH TO—
"BANISH POVERTY EVEN—
"WITH EQUITABLE—
"DISTRIBUTION."

As one of the strong points in its Platform the Socialist Party sets forth in its Preamble that Poverty abounds in this country today and that the owners of our Natural Resources and Industrial Equipment and the Government which they have made virtually their Tool "have not given us plenty, freedom or peace, in any such degree as we have the right and duty to demand."

Then the Socialists state—

MEN ARE HUNGRY WHILE FARMERS GO BANKRUPT FOR LACK OF EFFECTIVE DEMAND FOR FOOD. TENANT FARMING HAS REACHED A PROPORTION OF ALMOST 40 PERCENT; MORE THAN 40 PERCENT OF THE VALUE OF FARM LANDS IS COVERED BY MORTGAGES. INDUSTRIAL WORKERS ARE SCARCELY BETTER OFF. IN GOOD YEARS THERE ARE AT LEAST 1,000,000 UNEMPLOYED BY A CONSERVATIVE ESTIMATE. IN THESE TIMES OF STOCK PROSPERITY THE NUMBER HAS RISEN TO 4,000,000.

This ESTIMATE is the one furnished by United States Senator Wagner of New York BASED on ABSOLUTELY NO DEFINITE KNOWLEDGE, but is MERELY GUESSWORK, and has been disproved by the investigation of United States Labor Commissioner Davis, who places the number of Unemployed at something over 1,000,000.

The Socialist Party in making an appeal to the Public should be careful of its facts. MISSTATEMENTS

employed by the Extension of All Public Works.

6—Loans to States and Municipalities without Interest for the purpose of carrying on Public Works and the taking of such other measures as will lessen widespread misery. Also a system of Unemployment Insurance.

7—Shortening the Work Day and securing to every Worker a Rest Period of No Less Than TWO DAYS in each Week.

8—Increasing Taxation on HIGH INCOME LEVELS, of Corporation Taxes and Inheritance Taxes, the Proceeds to be used for Old Age Pensions and other forms [illegible]

9—Appropriation [illegible] of the Annual Rental Value of ALL LAND HELD FOR SPECULATION.

10—Abolition of Injunctions in Labor Disputes.

11—Modification of Immigration Laws to permit the Reuniting of Families and to OFFER A REFUGE for those FLEEING from Political or Religious Persecution.

12—Abolition of Detective Agencies engaged in Interstate Business.

13—Immediate Withdrawal of American Forces from Nicaragua and Abandonment of the Policy of Military Intervention in Central America and Other Countries.

14—The RECOGNITION of the RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

GIVING NORMAN THOMAS, SOCIALIST CANDIDATE, THE HURRIED "ONCE OVER."

So there is the Socialist Candidate for President of the United States and the most important points of the Socialist Platform.

Norman Thomas, as a MAN, seems to be a GOOD TYPE, Physically, at least, for he stands SIX FEET THREE INCHES in his Boots or Shoes. He is well built, has Square Shoulders, a High, Broad Forehead, a Smooth-shaven Face, a Firm Mouth and Firm Chin.

He looks you squarely in the face when he talks to you, and he DOES NOT DODGE QUESTIONS.

He FRANKLY ADMITS that his GRANDFATHER MIGHT NOT AGREE WITH HIM on his VIEWS on the PUBLIC QUESTIONS OF TODAY.

He was born in Marion, Ohio, and as a newsboy sold former President Harding's Newspaper. He was the Editor of a large Daily Paper in New York City, is Associate Editor of The Nation, Associate Editor of the New Leader and Author of Several Books dealing with Social and Economic Subjects.

He is a Graduate of Princeton University and an ALL-AROUND Well-Read, Well-Posted Man.

AS FOR HIS VIEWS—
ON SOCIALISM—
THAT'S ANOTHER MATTER.
MODERN-DAY SOCIALISM—
IN MANY RESPECTS, IS—
A LONG CRY FROM—
KARL MARX SOCIALISM—
AND, AFTER ALL—
IT IS ONLY A CASE—
OF WHICH PARTY—
GETS IN POWER—AND THEN—
IT IS JUST "POLITICS"—
THAT'S ALL!

101 | SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

What leading periodicals said about Norman Thomas' previous book

AMERICA'S WAY OUT

Price, $2.50

◊ ◊ ◊

". . . There never was a time when penetrating social criticism and unselfish social action were more needed. Not this book only, but the career of which it is the present outcome, mark Norman Thomas as a leader in both fields."
—*New Republic.*

◊

"If this volume could be required to be read in every high school and college in the country and no student allowed to graduate until he understood it, whether or not agreement was reached on the program there presented, we should at least have a more intelligent and social citizenship." —*The Annalist.*

◊

"This volume would be repudiated by many orthodox Marxian Socialists on the Continent, and would cause disgust and anxiety in Moscow. The British Labor Party would regard it with sympathy and approval. The important point is that what Norman Thomas has written is indispensable to an understanding of American Socialism." —*World Tomorrow.*

◊ ◊ ◊

A CATHOLIC VIEW

"Every Catholic teacher of even elementary economics should be familiar with this book. It is valuable not for the truth of its theories or statements, some of which are open to at least serious question, but for the attitude and outlook of its author who may be fairly taken as representative of Socialist opinion in this country." —*America.*

◊ ◊ ◊

A BAPTIST VIEW

"The qualities of mind and character displayed in his campaign of 1928 and since have made him the most distinguished spokesman of socialism in America and have secured for him a wide hearing as a trustworthy counselor of American democracy. . . . I do not see how the American people are going to ignore this challenge. The book is worthy to become a manual of adult education for American citizenship." —*The Baptist.*

How do you see it?

YOU are continually confronting the issues so ably discussed by Norman Thomas in his new book. Election year will bring all of them prominently to the fore. Whether or not you agree with him, in his keen arguments and analyses you will find enlightenment and inspiration. The reviews of *America's Way Out* quoted here indicate why all forward-looking citizens should read that excellent book. The comments are equally applicable to the new work which, too, undoubtedly will be widely praised after publication. (This circular is prepared in advance.)

This is a book to which every thinking American should give deep consideration. Here are deeply thought discussions of the problems we must solve if our social organization is to be stabilized on a new basis, if unemployment is to be overcome, if communism is to be successfully avoided, if war and its horrors are to be eliminated, if the welfare of mankind is to be furthered and true liberty attained.

NORMAN THOMAS
As I See It

Price, $2.00

Order from your bookstore or the nearest office of

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

NEW YORK CHICAGO BOSTON ATLANTA DALLAS SAN FRANCISCO

Printed in U.S.A.

"It is my deep conviction that especially in the year of a national campaign, it is of the highest importance for any man who wants to speak on politics at all to speak in clear-cut terms concerning present issues."

HOW MANY WILL?

Here is one who does—one who faces the issues squarely—who sets forth with brilliance and conviction his political ideals and his plans for their practical application—who views the present deplorable condition of mankind with profound regret and points his way to "social salvation without catastrophe."

101 SOCIALISTS - NORMAN THOMAS

NORMAN THOMAS

As I See It...

ONE Year ago, Norman Thomas gave us his Program for Democracy in his book AMERICA'S WAY OUT, which was widely lauded by competent critics the country over, adversely criticized by extreme capitalists and socialists, and harshly condemned by communists. In it he offered a definite program for action, proposed changes in our governmental and judicial methods, and set forth his arguments why salvation for America lies not in capitalism or communism but in the democratic socialism he so competently champions.

Now in view of the discussions aroused by his book and his own thinking in the light of the developments of the last twelve months he offers his "Reconsiderations." More than ever he believes that immediate action is necessary if we are to avoid a catastrophe. He points out the imminent dangers confronting us. He states the present plight of the farmers and of industry and indicates what should be done to relieve the conditions. He reviews the year's developments in Russia and emphasizes his faith in his socialist ideas.

If America continues to drift without a definite plan—what will happen? "The Next Decade" the second article in this book, tells us what he believes will be the inevitable outcome of the forces and tendencies now operative. Business and political leaders, and the American Federation of Labor are criticized and the strong tendency toward Fascism is shown. What can be done? Read the solution he offers. Is war inevitable? We do not consciously desire war, but—we prepare for it. In "The Acceptance of Violence" Norman Thomas deals tersely with this subject and indicates what must be done to make headway against the belief that violence is necessary for obtaining social reforms. In "Disarmament and Peace" he shows deep insight into the world problems involved in these important movements and proffers his well-considered solutions.

Next in "The Essential Condition of Economic Planning," he examines the various plans that have been offered for solving our economic difficulties by such noted men as Stuart Chase, Charles Beard, Wallace Donham, Gerard Swope and Matthew Woll. He points to the flaws he sees in these plans and shows what he believes is necessary.

"Liberty's Hard Road" is traversed; religious problems are surveyed in "The Churches and The End of an Epoch"; and in "Faith of my Fathers" he gives a touching discussion of his ancestors' religion and tells why it is no longer adequate for him. The final essay deals with a subject with which he is intensely concerned as he continues valiantly to fight against it—"Politics and Plunder in New York City."

Each one of the essays in this book offers you abundant food for thought. You may have read parts of some of them when they appeared in various periodicals but a re-reading in their new form is well worth while. The force of Norman Thomas' arguments makes them worthy of the permanency they are given in this book.

As others see him...

As Norman Thomas sees many of the reviews of his book, "America's Way Out," they are disappointing in their understanding of Socialism, he tells us in his "Reconsiderations" and sharply criticizes several of them. But he will have to admit that the country over they gave recognition to his personal merit and the importance of his message as these short excerpts from lengthy reviews prove.

NEW YORK

"However much we may quarrel with some of its ideas and conclusions, *America's Way Out* is a stimulating book. We need in this sluggish body politic of ours the kind of critical intelligence which Mr. Thomas so conspicuously possesses. . . . It will be fortunate if whatever changes occur can be the result of such reasoned and intelligent discussion—on both sides of the argument—as is reflected in Mr. Thomas' book." —*New York Herald-Tribune.*

PHILADELPHIA

"Norman Thomas is one of America's most useful men. He doesn't make automobiles or radios; he tries to make people think. He doesn't sell bridges or battleships; he distributes ideas. . . . His integrity and his courage, combined with unwavering allegiance to a well-defined social theory, have commanded for him the respect of those who don't dare vote for him. In politics he has been a force of protest, compelling opponents in the major parties to make some concession, otherwise unexpectable, in the direction of liberalism." —*Philadelphia Record.*

BOSTON

"As a contribution to political and economic theory *America's Way Out* has for its primary purpose a clarification of contemporary forms. It does this with singular eloquence, which is all the more convincing because Mr. Thomas does not offer socialism as a guaranteed cure-all, but merely as a practical solution of many intricate problems." —*Boston Transcript.*

BALTIMORE

"Clarity and persuasiveness characterize the book as a whole. This is probably enough to condemn it in the eyes of the more radical wing of the party, but to the casual observer far out toward the Right it seems more like an indication that American Socialism has found a leader who may carry it further than Debs was able to go." —*Baltimore Sun.*

WASHINGTON

"No thoughtful reader of American political philosophy can afford to ignore this book from the pen of a man whose admirers outrage his own particular party and are not confined to those who share his views. . . . His book is entertaining and thoughtfully written and a relief from the usual screamings of his fellow partisans. The United States is going to hear more of the Norman Thomas theories, so it is well to get them down on paper in this fashion." —*Washington Post.*

CHICAGO

"The book is stimulating, arresting, sincere and timely. . . . The present system is today on the defensive. Those who do not like Mr. Thomas' way out are bound to refute his argument and point out a better and more genuinely American way out of a situation admittedly full of peril." —*Chicago News.*

CINCINNATI

"Norman Thomas is America's outstanding Socialist, not only because he is one of Socialism's most intelligent and unbiased spokesmen, but because his field of action has not been confined solely to the library. . . . Whether Mr. Thomas' socialistic program is finally utopian or not, it provides the theoretical answer to many current needs. It has the virtue of being positive instead of negative, constructive as well as destructive and as such may be cherished by those who believe that mankind, no less than the program by which it lives, may be improved." —*Cincinnati Times-Star.*

DENVER

"The book is mentally provocative, it stirs you into an acute realization that socialism is not radical any more; in fact, many of its policies hardly can be separated from the principles of the Progressives. Thomas writes with clarity and directness that permits no evasion of issues. He tells what he believes is wrong with the present system and he recounts definite steps for alleviating this condition." —*Rocky Mt. News.*

LOS ANGELES

"No one who is deeply concerned for the welfare of America should fail to read this volume. You may heartily disagree with much that the author says but you will admire his courage and his evident sincerity." —*Los Angeles Open Forum.*

From England

LONDON

"Though this book appeals primarily to the American public, its scope is far wider than its title would suggest. It is actually a presentation of the case for Socialism, and it deserves to rank as one of the best books of the kind that have yet appeared. For the lucidity and incisiveness of its style it would indeed bear comparison with Mr. Shaw's '*Intelligent Woman's Guide*.' Whether one agrees or not with Mr. Thomas' conclusions, there can be no doubt that he possesses unusual gifts of exposition, and that he knows how to put an argument in an effective way. As a critic he is none the less pungent for being sane and fair-minded." —*The Times Literary Supplement.*

You will recognize the enclosed as being based upon an article in your April 1931 issue of the National Republic.

Your friend Norman Thomas certainly stubbed his toe when he included in his statement, the sentence, "There is an anti red flag law in Richmond, Indiana." I am sending the enclosed in blind form for you to use as you see fit, but without using my name. For your confidential information, I will say that I am the one who asked him the question.

February 15, 1933

Yesterday, Norman Thomas addressed an L.I.D. Forum meeting on the subject "What Price Power". He had with him a copy of "The Radical Campaign Against American Industry", published by the National Electric Light Association, and showed exhibit 7 from page 13 thereof, a reprint from a page of the "Brooklyn Daily Eagle" of June 3, 1923. This reprint has a cartoon of Thomas holding in his hands the United States Constitution torn about two-thirds of the way through. Thomas stated that he had never said that he would tear up the Constitution, that he had written the Brooklyn Eagle to that effect and that they had published that correction. He violently attacked the Electric Light Association for issuing false propaganda.

After the meeting adjourned, I asked him if the story was also false that he rode in an automobile, on which a red flag was displayed, in connection with a meeting at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. He replied that "it was not as viciously false. There were no red flags displayed in that parade. There is an anti-red flag law in Richmond, Indiana. The automobiles were decorated with red bunting."

I rejoined that "I should consider that equally reprehensible."

To which he replied, "Not at all - red was the color of the early Christians."

To which I rejoined, "That is no excuse."